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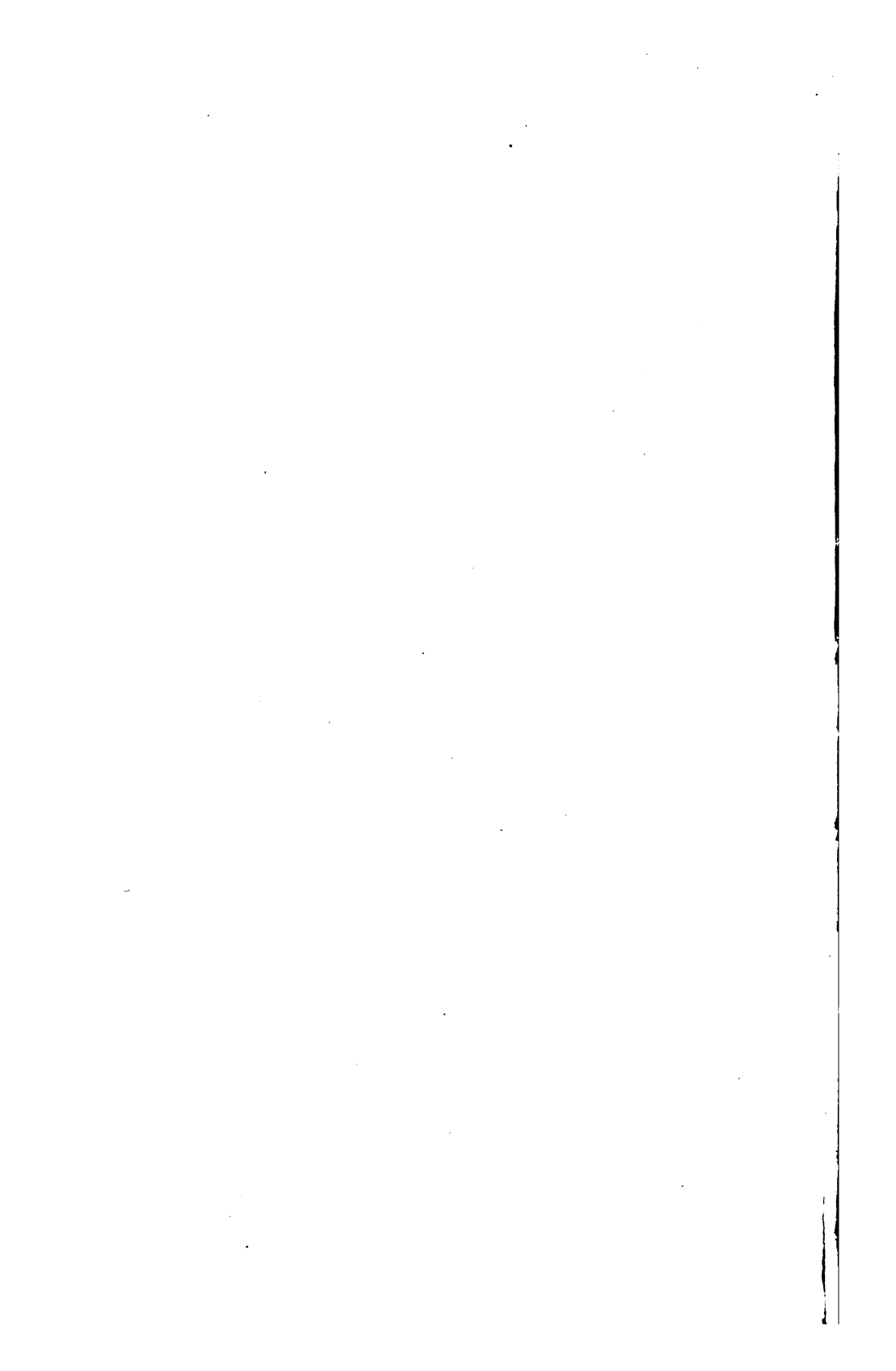
HENRICI QUINTI,

ANGLIÆ REGIS,

GESTA,

CUM CHRONICÂ NEUSTRIÆ, GALLICÈ, AB ANNO M.CCCC.XIV. AD M.CCCC.XXII.

AD FIDEM CODICUM MANUSCRIPTORUM RECENSUIT, CHRONICAM TRADUXIT, NOTISQUE ILLUSTRAVIT

BENJAMIN WILLIAMS, S.A.S.

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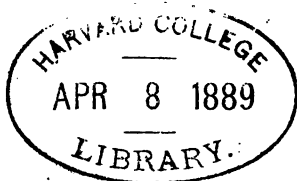
PREFACE.

T has been remarked by an eminent historian, that there have been three great battles which changed the face of Europe, those of Crescy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. The following Chronicles include an account of the last of these eventful conflicts, as well as a detailed narrative of Henry's second continental expedition, a subject dismissed by our historians with little more than a passing notice. For these additions to English history, now first published from the original manuscripts,[1] we are indebted to natives of the neighbouring continent. The author known as Titus Livius,[2] although an Italian, wrote, probably with the aid of his patron, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, a far better life of Henry than that by the Prior of Lenton, which is

[1] Dr. Giles has, it is true, published the Chronicle of the Chaplain, but it is professedly taken from the transcripts of the late Mr. Petrie, and his work contains internal evidence of his being unacquainted with the MSS. The Doctor has overlooked the continuation of Henry's reign in MS. Sloane, 1776.

[2] There is no reason to suppose, as Luders observes, (Remarks on the Character of Henry V. when Prince,) that Titus Livius was not the given name of the historian. He styles himself Titus Livius à Frulovisiis, Ferrariensis.

written in so inflated and grandiloquent a style as to move the ridicule of the reader, and not unfrequently to obscure his own meaning. Other contemporary foreign chroniclers of this period were the Cardinal des Ursins, Monstrelet, Pierre de Fénin, Le Fevre de St. Rémy,[1] the Religieux of St. Denys, and the anonymous Bourgeois of Paris; and they were followed before the close of the century by Alain Chartier, Bouvier the Berry Herald, Denis Sauvage, and Meyerus. A MS. Life of Henry V., in Latin, by an anonymous author, is preserved at Rome, (Vat. 3887, 520,) but it is probably a copy of Elmham, of which another anonymous copy the editor has met with at Paris (MS. Latin 6240, Bibl. du Roi).

MSS. of the Latin Chronicle.

The text of the Latin Chronicle of Henry's chaplain is taken from the Cottonian MS. Julius E. iv., collated with the Sloane MS. 1776. The latter MS. is a copy, and a rather careless one, of the former; and although one or two portions of sentences are omitted, it yet supplies the loss of the first leaf of the Cottonian MS. It is not improbable that it was one of the eighty books that Abbot Whethamstede of St. Albans caused to be transcribed.[2] The Cottonian MS. was, in all probability, the original chronicle.

Their author.

The author was, as he himself tells us, one of the chaplains (*clericalis militiæ*) of Henry's army, describing the events which passed under his notice

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[1] Le Fevre de St. Rémy was present with the English army at Agincourt. Sir F. Madden remarks that his account of the siege of Rouen does not differ from Monstrelet; of course, Monstrelet, the compiler of chronicles, was the copyist, and not St. Rémy.

[2] Weever. Fun. Mon. p. 566.

as an eye-witness. Several Gallicisms, particularly the unnecessary employment of the phrase "gens armigera," *gens d'armes*, for English troops (page 5), "passagier" for "pinnace" (page 96), and "darmatio" for "dearmatio" (page 23), indicate him to have been a native of France.[1] In the list of the chaplains who accompanied Henry to Agincourt, the only distinguished men were Mr. Esmon Lacy, Dean of the Chapel, and "Master John de Bordin, Clerk, Doctor in Laws."[2] De Bordin had previously been Chancellor of Aquitaine,[3] and we may presume from his name that he was a native of that duchy, then pertaining to the crown of England, and, in all probability, the author of the chronicle in question. That his chronicle was written before 1418 is evident from his reference to the fact of Sir John Oldcastle being *still* lurking, (p. 5,) for Oldcastle was executed in that year. This author relates the events of which he was a witness in a lucid and dignified style. His account of the siege of Harfleur is given in full detail, and abounds with information upon the military tactics of the age. His narrative, too, of the battle of Agincourt is written with great animation, in a manner worthy of the subject. A translation of these portions of the Chronicle has been given by Sir N. Harris Nicolas in his "History of the Battle of Agincourt."

The continuation of Henry's reign from the commencement of his second continental expedition in

[1] At page 45 the word "parentalis" is added to this list, but I have subsequently found that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors used the word in the sense of the text.

[2] MS. Donat. 4600, art. 185. De Bordin was to have 2*s*. per day, his clerk 12*d*., and two archers 6d. per day each.

[3] Fœdera, VIII. 650.

The MS. Chronicle of Henry's second continental expedition.

1417 is taken from the Sloane MS. 1776, which is little more than an abridgment of Elmham;[1] but as all the main facts of that author are given without his verbiage, it is hoped that this history of the successful progress of Henry's arms in Normandy and the peninsula of the Côtentin,—the cradle of many noble English families,—will be found to be sufficiently detailed; and an attempt has been made to give precision to it by the addition of dates and original information obtained from the MS. records of the period.

The French Chronicle. MS. O $\frac{33}{13}$ Rouen.

The Chronique de Normandie, in old French, is taken from a MS. from the pen of Sir George Chastelain, preserved in the Public Library of Rouen, (MS. O. $\frac{33}{13}$, des Belles Lettres,) collated with the

MS. Arundel xlviij. Coll. of Arms.

Arundel MS. xlviii., from the pen of William Worcester, in a collection of historical pieces preserved in the Heralds' College, London, and with an extract from "L'Histoire et Cronique de Normandie par Jean Nagerel," Archdeacon of Rouen, 8vo, Mesgissier, Rouen, 1581, fo. 166—180. The latter work is a collection of chronicles thrown together without any continuity. It is, moreover, an incomplete and partial production, omitting mention of all events which may be supposed to affect the character of the party of the Dauphin.

MS. 9848 Reg. Bibl. du Roi, Paris.

One other MS. of the Chronicle is preserved in the Bibl. du Roi at Paris, MS. 9848, Regius, which agrees very nearly with Nagerel's version.

Neither of these MSS. were contemporary, strictly

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[1] In one instance (p. 131) the author adopts the statement of Livius in his very words, and in other places he has added the names of the barons and knights present at the principal sieges.

speaking; but that they were written during the life-time of Richard, Earl of Warwick, or Thomas, Earl of Salisbury, is evident from the author's remark at page 183. The two foreign MSS. have been described at pp. lxxxvi. and xcii. of the Chron. de Richart II. The three existing MSS. are evidently copies from some earlier one.

Notice of Chastelain.

Sir George Chastelain, Knight, Herald of the Order of the Golden Fleece, "Historiographe" and Privy Councillor to Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, Dukes of Burgundy, would necessarily take an interest in English affairs, as the Duke Philip had been the firmest ally and support of the English in France, and had given his sister in marriage to the Duke of Bedford, Governor of Normandy. Subsequently Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry VI., took refuge at the court of Burgundy, and to her Chastelain addressed a Chronicle of the marvellous events which had happened in his times, expressly to console her in her misfortunes. The salary of Chastelain's office as Indiciare and Herald of the Golden Fleece were 50 nobles per annum, equal to 141 francs 8 gros, with 50 francs for his dresses.[1] He is spoken of in the most honourable and flattering terms by his contemporaries, and was surnamed the Adventurous, from his numerous travels in Germany, Italy, and England. He died 20th March, 1474, aged seventy years, as appears from his epitaph in the church of La Sala-le-Comté at Valen-

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[1] Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France et de Bourgoyne, Paris, 1729.

ciennes.[1] M. Buchon has entirely overlooked this Chronicle, and probably never met with it.

Notice of William Worcester.

William Botoner, alias "Wyrcestre," the son of William of Worcester and Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Botoner, was born at Bristol about the year 1415, and was educated at Oxford at the expense of Sir John Fastolf, Knight, with whom he afterwards lived at Caister in Norfolk, and to whom he was esquire, historian, and executor. He was a man of great and various learning, and, in particular, indefatigable in the study of the antiquities of the kingdom. He wrote many works, was alive in 1480, and is supposed to have died in 1490. In a good-humoured letter to "Master Paston," he complains that he had little or no salary, but plenty to eat and drink; that he was not treated as a gentleman and a scholar, but had five shillings yearly, all costs borne, to pay for bonnets that he lost, "and so I endure *inter egenos ut servus ad aratrum.*" He intimates that he thinks Sir John Fastolf would be willing to provide for him if he could do it at the expense of another. (Fenn's Paston Letters.) In a letter of Henry Wyndesore, who styles himself brother to William "Wyrcestre," preserved by Sir John Fenn, vol. i. p. 170, we have a pleasing account of William's love for learning, poetry, and books, and of his anxiety for acquiring a perfect knowledge of the French tongue. The writer surmises that the poor student, in his thirst for knowledge, had put himself in danger (debt) to Karoll Giles, a Lombard,

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[1] Choix de Chroniques sur l'Histoire de France, par J. A. Buchon.

from whom it appears he had taken lessons "every day two times or three, and had bought divers books of him."[1] He adds, "I made a motion to have known part of his business, and he answered and said, that he would be as glad and as fond of a good book of French or of poetry, as my Master Fastolf would be to purchase a fair manor." Worcester wrote the acts of Sir John Fastolf, contained in the volume from which this Chronicle is extracted; also the acts of John Duke of Bedford (MS. Lambeth); and he translated from the French version "Cicero de Senectute." This latter work was printed for him by Caxton in 1481, who, it may be remarked, was ambassador to Philip Duke of Burgundy in 1464, and was consul at Bruges in 1469, in which capacity he was present at the marriage of Margaret, sister to Edward IV., to the Count of Flanders, the ceremonies on which occasion are so minutely described by Olivier de la Marche.

The Chronicle quoted by Fabyan.

The old French Chronicle is frequently quoted by Fabyan, and Goodwin has made considerable use of it. Although its dates are frequently incorrect, it supplies us with much valuable information which we do not obtain from our English chroniclers, especially an account of Henry's residence at Paris, and the proceedings between the rival parties in that city. Mention is made of the opposition Henry's army met with at the ford of the Blanche

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[1] To this circumstance may perhaps be attributed one of the peculiarities of Wyrcestre's language, if, indeed, he does not copy the Trouvères; "*Chi commence le cronique du Roy Richart.*" It is this fragment in the Arundel MS. xlviii. which was translated by Stow. (See Preface to the Chronique de la traïson de Richart II., page vii.

Tache, or spot of white sand near the mouth of the Somme, which caused Henry's army such a toilsome march along that river, of the soft state of the ground at Agincourt field into which the French cavalry floundered, and of the reason for the lamented slaughter of the French prisoners after the battle, viz. an expected attack from the troops of the ex-King of Sicily, which is valuable testimony from a foreigner.[1] The chronicler also records the creation of several knights by Henry in the spring of the year 1418 at Caen, which is only referred to incidentally, and at a subsequent period, by Elmham, as well as many facts connected with Henry's residence in Normandy. These, it is true, have been embodied by Fabyan and others into our chronicles, but the object of the English Historical Society is to present the public with the original authorities upon which those chronicles are founded.

One peculiarity in Chastelain's orthography should be adverted to, viz. the constant omission of the letter *e* in the third person plural of the imperfect verbs, as *avoint* for *avoient*. His version is evidently older than that of Worcester.[2]

The Latin Chronicle is frequently quoted by

[1] Hardyng records the following fact, which ought to be mentioned in justification of the humanity of the English at this period. After the victory gained by the allied Burgundian and English forces at St. Cloud in 1411, the Duke of Burgundy proposed to put the French prisoners to death; but the English interposed, drew up their forces in battle array, and declared they would rather die than see their prisoners murdered.

[2] In reading proper names in old French, the English student should constantly bear in mind, that before the introduction of accents, additional consonants were employed merely to give force to the preceding letters; these consonants were not intended to be sounded, and when they were withdrawn, their place

Goodwin,[1] whose laborious research has not been sufficiently valued, under the title of Anon. Script. Hist. in Bibliothecâ D. Barnard.

Although bombards, or large cannon,—which our chronicler terms "canellæ," and which, as he remarks, were commonly called "guns, and blew out their stones by the force of the ignited powders," were used by Henry in his breaching batteries, yet was this *par excellence* the epoch of the bow, and the truth of the old proverb was then strikingly manifested, that

> "England were but a fling,
> But for the crooked stick and the grey-goose wing."

The arrows of the English archers, discharged with a rapidity with which the French crossbowmen could not compete from the nature of their weapon, gained the decisive victory at Agincourt. The absence of the archers occasioned the death of the Duke of Clarence and the captivity of Somerset and his companions at Beaugé, although when they came into the field they recovered the duke's body.

The "Book of Records" quoted.

Reference is frequently made to "The Book of Records." It were devoutly to be wished that a book of so much importance could be found. From its frequent mention we are almost led to suppose that a part of our author's duties might have been to make entries in its pages. What can have become of it? Its former existence is so explicitly stated,

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was supplied by accents more or less grave. Thus, *Vastreton* was the proper French expression for (Robert) *Wàterton*, *estoit* for *étoit*, *hostel* for *hôtel*, *Contentin* for *Côtentin*.

[1] The History of the Reign of Henry the Fifth, fol. 1704.

that it is hoped some pains will be taken to discover and bring to light a document so valuable to the history of our country.

It would be out of place in these prefatory remarks to dwell upon the extraordinary and brilliant career of this heroic monarch, but it may be proper to point the attention of the reader to some particulars respecting him which are less generally known, or have become the subject of dispute among historians.

Henry's career in early life.

Immediately after his father's accession he was created Prince of Wales, and upon two distinct occasions, within six months of that period, we find the people greeting him with the acclamation, "God save the Prince! God bless and preserve my lord the Prince!" (Chronicle of the Betrayal of Richard II., pp. 247, 256.) At that time he had not attained his thirteenth year. He had been knighted by Richard the Second in Ireland in the preceding year. The prince was summoned to and attended parliament as early as the Octaves of Hilary in the second year of his father's reign,[1] and about this time he dated his charters from his manor of Kennington.[2] He had scarcely attained his fifteenth year when he was entrusted with an important military command in Wales, where his energetic conduct procured him the thanks of the House of Commons;[3] and in July of the following year (1403), we find him at the battle of Shrewsbury, displaying his prowess, and giving promise of his subsequent achievements.

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[1] Rot. Claus. 2 Hen. IV. p. 1, m. 30; and Rot. Parl. iii. 459.

[2] Rot. Pat. 3 Hen. IV. p. 1, m. 4.

[3] Rot Parl. iii. 486.

The prince was continuously employed as a military commander in England and Wales until 1408, and the records of the time shew how efficacious was his presence at the scene of war. Shortly after his first appearance in Wales the rebels submitted to him at Chester, and were received into the king's favour; and at the prince's intercession all persons were pardoned in the counties of Caernarvon, Anglesey, Merioneth, and Denbigh, excepting Owen de Glendower, Rees, and William ap Tudor.[1] During the time of this command he was regularly summoned to parliament, and again appears there in 1406, and he was at the head of the council, at least till 1411. In June, 1405, he received the grant of Framlingham Castle, and in Nov. 1409 he was allowed five hundred marks a-year for the maintenance of the Earl of March and his brother.[2] In 1409 he was created Captain of Dover and the Cinque Ports, on the resignation of Sir Thomas Erpingham, and in the following year he was appointed Lieutenant of Wales for one year (19th June), and in July Captain of Calais for twelve years.[3] In March of this year he received a grant of the "hospitium" of Cold Harborough for life.[4]

The question of his profligacy considered.

It has been supposed that as the prince was employed in public affairs at a very early age, he could have neither time nor disposition to be profligate, and Mr. Tyler,[5] in particular, has endeavoured to

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[1] Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. IV. p. 1, mm. 14 and 19.

[2] Fœdera, viii. 608.

[3] Idem, 629.

[4] Idem, 628. Although then only twelve years old, he was called "nôtre redouté seigneur le Prince." (Rot. Parl.)

[5] Life of Henry of Monmouth by Rev. J. E. Tyler, B.D.

disprove the reports of his irregularities in early life; but without adopting the exaggerated portrait drawn by Shakespeare, we may surely conclude, with the late Mr. Turner, that the fact of his reformation is so repeatedly spoken of by our old historians that it seems unreasonable to raise a question about it, and that if his reformation was notorious, his previous misdoings must have been so also. Walsingham, the earliest of Henry's chroniclers, who finished his Hypodigma Neustriæ before 1422, and probably before 1420, remarks that the severe storm of snow which fell at Henry's coronation was considered by some as an omen that the king would cause the snows and severities (*frigora*) of vices to fall in his reign, and the mild fruits of virtues to spring up. The English people, we may well conclude, must have conceived a strong desire for the amendment of their youthful and newly-crowned monarch, if no more extraordinary phenomenon than a snow-storm was required as an augury of its accomplishment.[1] We may add farther testimony to the same effect. Elmham says expressly that Henry reconsidered and revolved with himself the past years of his youth with a wounded spirit, a bitter mind, and a contrite heart; and while he was grievously afflicted that that time had been disgraced by the dregs of vice, he exclaimed, "How many days, how much of my past life do I feel to have been covered by the black smoke of Misconduct!" (Elmham, p. 14.) The translator of Titus Livius (MS. Harl. 35) says that

[1] Walsingham continues, "Qui reverà mox ut initiatus est regni insulis, repentè mutatus est in virum alterum, honestati modestiæ, ac gravitati studens, nullum virtutum genus omittens quod non cuperet exercere."

Henry in his youth was most mutable and devoid of all spiritual virtues.[1] On the whole, there is little room for doubt that he was dissolute and extravagant; nothing, it must be owned, very remarkable in a youthful prince. Remarkable, however, it was, that he should have been aroused to a sense of his duties when he was mounting the throne, and have abandoned his vices when he seemed even more at liberty to indulge them. Many have conquered, says Mr. Turner, apparent impossibilities on the field of battle: few princes have so magnanimously conquered and amended themselves.

In 1411 the Duke of Burgundy, being desirous of obtaining assistance from England against his rival the Duke of Orleans, offered his daughter in marriage to the Prince of Wales. (Otterbourne, and MS. Cott. Galba E. vii.) A power was given to certain commissioners to treat on the subject. (Fœdera, viii. 698.) The king dissuaded the prince from going in person, but, as the late Mr. Petrie remarked,[2] it seems probable that whilst the king, at

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[1] "Musicis delectabatur, veneria et martialia mediocriter secutus, et alia quæ militaribus licentia præbere solet quoad rex illius pater vixit..... Ita ut post patris obitum nullus lasciviæ locus in eo unquam fuerit inventus." (Livius, p. 5.)

Would Livius, the historian of the Duke of Gloucester, have dared to record thus much, had not the fact of Henry's wildness been notorious?

110 tuns of wine for the use of the Prince's household were landed free of duty, from the 6th to the 13th Hen. IV. (Rot. Claus.)

29th May, 3 Hen. V. The king repays Benet Spin, merchant of Bordeaux, 260*l.* which he lent him when he was prince, by giving him security upon the customs of the "pruners et vins" entered at Bordeaux. (Privy Seal Writs, Tower, 3 Hen. V.)

The debts of the King when Prince were not all discharged in 1421 (Acts of P. Council); but at the same time he had made large advances for the wages of his troops.

[2] For the perusal of some valuable MS. memoranda by the late Mr. Petrie, the editor is indebted

least outwardly, refused succour to the duke, he connived at the Prince of Wales assisting him, which the latter could easily do as Captain of Calais; and, indeed, Livius states that he obtained his father's permission to do so. Accordingly the Earl of Arundel, Sir John Oldcastle, Sir John Cornwall, and Sir Gilbert Umfreville were sent with a considerable force to the duke's assistance, and the victory of St. Cloud was the consequence.

In consequence of a change of state policy, an expedition under the command of the Duke of Clarence was sent in the following year to the aid of the Duke of Orleans, and the troops left England before the whole of the Earl of Arundel's troops had returned, at which, as the chroniclers state, many wondered. About this time a coolness appears to have taken place between Henry and his royal father, although they do not appear to have been at issue on account of either of these expeditions, unless, indeed, the prince's adventurous spirit was mortified by his not having been allowed to lead the former expedition in person, and this was probably the case, for the monk of St. Denys states, upon the authority of a French envoy, that the prince endeavoured for several days to hinder the departure of his brother, but yielded at last to the representations of his father.[1]

A coolness between the King and the Prince.

This coolness is alluded to by Livius, who suggests that the prince had his detractors, who

to the courtesy of his executor, Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq., who has also in the kindest manner placed before him every document under his care, which was thought to be likely to throw any light upon this period of history.

[1] Chron. Book XXXII. ch. 32.

during his absence from court abused the royal ear.[1] Henry's subsequent severity to the queen-dowager and her son Arthur of Brittany, suggests a presumption that she had not been a sincere friend to him.

The Prince dismissed from the Council.

The fact, however, appears to be well established, that about the time of the departure of the first expedition, the prince no longer retained his position at the council board. In December, 1411, at the special request of the commons, the prince received the king's thanks, with the other lords, for the time they *were* of his council.[2] In both the MSS. of Hardyng it is stated that the "Prince was discharged of council, and the Duke of Clarence set in his stead;" and one adds,—

> "For which the prince, of wrath and wilful head,
> Against him made debate and froward head."

According to the Chronicle of London, (Harl. MS. 565,) the prince had some months previously gone to London with a considerable body of noblemen and retainers; and it is stated in the collection of chronicles from which the latter part of Henry's reign is now published, (MS. Sloane, 1776,) and also

[1] "Etsi nonnullorum detractionibus in hoc aliquantisper fama sua læsa fuerit. (Livius, p. 4.)

[2] On Monday, 30th of November, 1411, the Commons request the King to thank the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Lords of the Council appointed last parliament for their labour and diligence; who had, as it appeared to the Commons, performed their duty well and loyally according to their promise. Whereupon the prince and others, kneeling, declared they had done their best, hinting they could have effected more if they had had greater means. The king assented, and thanked them: "Et dist auxi mesme nostre Seigneur le Roy, q'il se tient pur bien content de leur bon et loial diligence, counsail et devoir, pur le temps q'ils estoient de son counsail, come dessuis est dit." (Rot. Parl. iii. 649.)

in MS. Reg. 13, c. 1, that in consequence of the king's malady, which prevented his opening the parliament in person, and disabled him from further application, with any honour, to the affairs of the realm, the prince required his father to resign his crown, which, however, the king declared he would never do whilst he breathed.

Henry IV. requested to resign in favour of the Prince.

This statement is confirmed by the Cott. MS. Galba, E. vii. "Eodem autem anno (1413) facta fuit conventio inter principem Henricum primogenitum regis, Henricum episcopum Wintoniensem et alios quasi omnes dominos Angliæ, ut quidam episcoporum alloquerentur regem ut redderet coronam Angliæ, et permitteret primogenitum suum coronari pro eo, quod erat horribiliter aspersus leprâ. Quo allocuto ad consilium quorundam dominorum cedere noluit, sed statim equitavit per magnam partem Angliæ non obstante leprâ supradictâ; et rediens Londoniam apud Westmonasterium in domo abbatis in quâdam bassâ camerâ quæ Jerusalem appellatur, mortuus est."

This is, perhaps, the more probable account. The MS. in which it is contained is undoubtedly of the period, and there does not appear to be any reason for withholding credence from its straightforward statement. Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, having been accused by the Duke of Gloucester, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, of traitorous designs both against the life of Henry the Fourth and the Prince, thus referred to the accusation:—

"And furthermore I am noised how that I should have stirred the king that last died (Henry the Fifth) the time also that he was prince, to have taken

the governance of this reaume and the crown upon him, leaving his father the same time being king,' &c. (Rot. Parl. IV. 298.) Although the bishop repelled the charge by a general declaration that he had ever been a true man to his sovereign, the fact of Henry the Fifth's having requested the regency appears to be admitted.

According to the Sloane and Royal MSS. before quoted,[1] the prince, upon being refused the crown, retired and allied himself with the chief nobles through the greater part of England, who owed him homage and service. The prince's "rety" of lords is mentioned by Hardyng. Henry IV. had certainly

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[1] Mr. Tyler, I am aware, in his recent work (Life of Henry of Monmouth), contends at some length that the two MSS. are entitled to no credit, grounding his opinion upon their confusion of names and dates. I am unwilling to dissent from such an authority, but I am compelled to do so on the question of these MSS., and may venture to intimate, that in urging his objections to their authenticity, important particulars have escaped his attention. For instance, he objects that the words "Senlow" and "Anglam" are unintelligible. But the town of St. Cloud (in Latin, San-Clo. pro Sanctus Clodoaldus) was then called Saintlo in the Norman Rolls (9 Hen. V. 13th Aug. m. 28, dor.); also "Senclowe fast by Paris" by a well-known chronicler (MS. Harl. 173, fo. 163, b); and the proper name Anglam only requires the contraction over the g̃, probably omitted by the copyist, to signify Angoulême, who, as the chronicler remarks, was the brother of the Duke of Orleans. To reject the MSS. for some confusion of dates, would be to impugn the testimony of the "Chronicle of London" and many others; but I apprehend that the author does not intend to say that all the events he relates took place, as Mr. Tyler reads, strictly in the compass of a year. The application of the Duke of Burgundy to Henry was made but one month before the commencement of the thirteenth year of Henry's reign, and that sovereign did not live to complete a fourteenth. Mr. Tyler also says the chronicler was in error in placing the regulation of the coinage in the last parliament of Henry, but a reference to Rot. Parl. iii. 658, may prove the contrary. It may be proper, however, to allow the reader to form his own opinion upon the document, and as it is important, it is given in the Appendix. Other objections to the authority of these MSS. might, I suspect, be as easily removed.

become very unpopular in the latter years of his reign, from the mismanagement of those about him, and the lords, in parliament, not only openly expressed their dissatisfaction, but exacted from him concessions which, from their importance, may be termed a Bill of Rights. Perhaps the numerous supporters which the prince found amongst the nobility, inclined the king the more readily to that accommodation which is said to have quickly followed. On the last day of Henry IV.'s last parliament, that of 1411, the king had, upon the request of his parliament, expressed his forgiveness of all parties;[1] but the demand of the crown would appear, from Galba E. vii., to have been subsequent to the last parliament.

Henry creates a royal navy.

Henry the Fifth may be said to have been the first English sovereign who created a navy of ships of war, which he did in great measure with carracks[2] captured from the Genoese (see p. 87). A list of the navy in the early part of his reign is given in the "Acts of Privy Council," vol. II., but it was subsequently enlarged. He was certainly the first sovereign who enacted that piracy should be considered as high treason, and that masters of ships should be compelled to swear that, if they took any prizes, they would bring them to port to be ad-

[1] On the 19th December, 1411, the parliament petition the king, that whereas there was great murmuring amongst the people that the king bore malice (*pesanté*) in his heart towards certain persons in the present as well as in the last parliament, he would be pleased to declare, for their relief and comfort, that he held all the estates and every person of those parliaments to be faithful and loyal lieges and subjects, which the king accordingly did. (Rot. Parl. iii. 658.)

[2] Teutonic, *Karrake* and *Kraecke*; Old Scotch, *Craik*.

judicated by officers appointed for the purpose. He appointed a channel fleet, consisting of two ships of one hundred and twenty tons each, five barges of one hundred tons, and five balingers, which were distributed from Plymouth to Berwick. The two former classes carried each forty-eight mariners, twenty-six men-at-arms, and twenty-six archers; the balingers forty mariners, ten men-at-arms, and ten archers.[1] Transports were paid at the rate of 3*s.* 4*d.* per ton per quarter of a year, exclusive of the wages of the mariners.[2] He also decidedly discouraged the barbarous practice of duelling. Upon the occasion of a quarrel between two of his lords, the King said,

He discourages duelling.

> "But what case fall that slayne is one of you,
> That other shall dye, to God I make a vowe."[3]

It was for having engaged in a duel that the valiant Janico d'Artas fell into disfavour, and lost his annuities (see p. 126). Henry was a strict disciplinarian: the ordinances made for his army are given by Mr. Bentley in his "Excerpta Historica." He appears to have consulted his council upon all occasions; of this express mention is repeatedly made; indeed, his readiness to listen to the opinions and advice of others, is a remarkable trait of his character, and adds lustre to its bolder features. His modesty after success is strikingly displayed in a letter which he wrote to the council concerning Owen Glyndour, when he was not eighteen years of age,[4] and it was still more so in his behaviour

Constantly consults his council.

[1] Nicolas's Royal Navy, ii. 202.

[2] Rot. Parl., iv. 79.

[3] Hardyng.

[4] Fœdera, viii. 390.

during his public entry into the city of London (see p. 68, and Elmham).

Attends to the petitions of his subjects.

The records of the period attest his attention to the petitions of his subjects, more especially of the humbler class, in favour of whom he was sure to interpose a kind word.[1]

An exemplification of the manners of the period is afforded by the petition of a noble widow, who

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[1] Letters from the king to the Bishop of Durham, Chancellor:—

"We sende yow closed withynne þees our lettres a supplicacion of grevous compleynt put unto us by Sire Rogier Wodehill, Parson of Swete." The king requests him to consider well the said supplication, and have the said parties before him, "and doe unto them both ryght and equite, and in especial þat ye see þat þe porer partye suffre no wrong. At our towne of Vernon þe xxviii day of Averill." (1419.)

"We send yow closed wiþynne thees a supplicacion putte unto us by a poure tenant of oures Rauf atte Ree, which complenieth hym of certain grete wrongs and griefs doon unto hym." Requests him to see into the truth of the supplication, "and let no man do hym wrong in no wise, ner that he be not wrongfully...... by maintenance of lordship ner otherwise, and therefore we wol þat ye take hede the more tenderly to his mater, and so þat he have no cause for lak of right to retourn hider ayein compleyning. Monsterau, ou Fault-Yonne, the iii day of Juillet." (1420.)

"We send yow closed wiþynne þees a supplicacion putte unto us by Thos. Gray, Grocier and Merchant of oure cite of London, making mencion of certain dettes which Lord Talbot, þat is God becaught, should owe to hym and to his wyf." Commands the chancellor to have the enfeoeffe before him, &c.

"In oure hoost afore Meleun, 16th Sept." (1420.)

"Forasmuche as oure servant Johan Hertishre hath shewed unto us that Sir R^d. Stanhappe, K^t., letteth and destourbeth hym and his attournie wrongfully and ayenst law and conscience,—seeing that the said servant hath been with us since our coming into Normandy, we wol that ye see that no wrong be done him.

"In oure oost afore Meleun, 5th Nov." (1420.)

Concerning some wrong done to Margaret Deye, the king ordains that right be done her without any long delay, "and þe more favourably considering þe pauvrete of þe said Margaret.

"At Lambhithe, the 9th day of May." (1421.)

(Letters Missive, Henry V., Tower.)

Isabell, formerly wife of Hugh Mortimer, deceased, prays that she may have a third part of his goods. Reply, apparently in Henry's handwriting, "þe Kynge knoweþ not why þei be letted." (Privy Seal Writs, State Paper Office, Bund. 1. Hen. V.)

requests permission to marry some liege subject upon the payment of a reasonable fine.[1]

The style of Henry's letters.

The phraseology and orthography of Henry's English letters are remarkably good, and show how much had been done by Wycliff, Chaucer, his pupil Lydgate,[2] and Hoccleve to reform the English language, and that in spite of the increased intercourse with France. Sir John Fenn, in his "Paston Letters," observes, that the highly educated persons of this era wrote letters as well spelled as in the era of Charles I. It may be added, that the letters of the Fifth Henry are decidedly superior compositions to those of Henry the Eighth. The language of the uneducated persons of Henry the Fifth's reign, and even of Henry himself in his familiar speeches to his soldiers, retained much of the Anglo-Saxon idiom. See note at page 19.

He curbs the power of the Church,

Henry manifested, at an early age (even before he ascended the throne) a disposition to curb the

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[1] "Plese au tres sage conselle nostre Sire le Roy graunte au Alianore qui fuist la femme au Johan Arundelle de Arundelle Chivaler, qui mort est, et qui de Roy Henry pier au dit nostre Sire la Roy, qui Dieu assoile, tenoit en chief, qel pur un rasonable fin par vous alunctier, puis soy marier quelconques personne de foye et ligeance nostre dit Sire le Roy esteant, pour Dieu en oeuvre de charite. Donne a West' le VIII jour de Mai, l'an primer." (Privy Seal Writs, State Paper Office.)

[2] Speaking of his own transcriptions, Lydgate says,

"My maister, Chaucer, that
founde ful many a spotte,
Him liste not pynche ne grucche
atte every blotte."

Lydgate translated the "Siege of Troye" for Henry when Prince, and the diction is remarkably free from foreign expressions:

"He yafe me charge this storye
to translate,
Rude of cunynge called John
Lydgate,
Mounke of Bury by profession,
Using an habit of perfectioune,
Al be my lyfe accorde not
thereto."

(MS. in the Chapter House, Gloucester, page 872.)

power of the Church, and to curtail its revenues. It is supposed that it was to divert his attention from this project that the prelates so liberally assisted him to prosecute his wars upon the continent. He, however, maintained his independence of the papacy as far as the nomination to bishoprics was concerned, which was an object that had been ardently desired by the English metropolitans in Richard the Second's time.[1] He reduced the charges for the registry and probate of wills,[2] and for inductions into livings;[3] reduced the salaries of chaplains to seven marks per annum, and of parochial chaplains or curates to eight marks;[4] charged the prelates to provide a remedy for the crying evil of the non-residence of parsons and vicars, and restored one-third of the goods of the church to the "original use" of the support of the poor, and needy of the parish.[5]

and asserts, in a measure, his independence of the Papacy.

Henry patronized the noble sport of the chase, and had his pack of hounds,[6] as well as his falcons and ter-

[1] Our Anglo-Saxon forefathers had been still more independent of the papacy. The witan of Canute appointed the festivals of St. Edward the Martyr and St. Dunstan, although two centuries elapsed before St. Edward was canonized by the Pope. See Leges Canuti.

[2] This charge was reduced to 5s. by the council of Constance, probably at Henry's instigation.

[3] At the Parliament held after Henry's return to England, it was ordained that no bishop should charge more than 12s. for induction, and that orders should be given gratis. Simon Terraminus, one of the Pope's receivers, begged money for Pope Martin, but they gave no ear to him, conceiving that the tenths, annates, and other perquisites, which were paid yearly into his exchequer, were more than enough to supply his necessities. (Life of Archbishop Chichele, by Arthur Duck, LL.D. Ed. 1699.) As in England, so in Normandy, the three estates that were summoned to Parliament were "cleri, nobiles, et cives." Fœdera, x. 101.

[4] Rot. Parl. iv. 52.

[5] Rot. Parl. iv. 290.

[6] The King confirms Wautier Fitzwautier in the office of master of his dogs, called "harthoundes," granted to him by Henry IV., in the same manner that Sir William Bourgchier, deceased, had, with all the fees of office, &c. Westminster, 16 July.

cels. He "founded" Borford and Culham bridges at Abingdon, in the fourth year of his reign, as appears from an inscription formerly in the west window of St. Helen's church in that town.[1]

Erects two bridges at Abingdon.

It must be observed, however, that Henry's continual wars, successful and glorious as they were, were found in the end to exhaust the resources of England, and led to much misery even in his continental dominions. We find the Earl of Dorset threatening to quit Harfleur and return to England with all his men, if they were not speedily supplied with provisions (p. 84); and Sir William Bardolf, lieutenant of Calais, complained that his soldiers had only had five hundred pounds the last two years, and that "par manere de presce."[2] He speaks of the "grande meschevous necessite, hideuse, piteuse noise, et doloreuse murmure quell continuellment, de jour en jour, se vient par descha entre vos humbles lieges et poures soldiers du Roy."[3] Henry's soldiers, too, complained at length of "this unlusty soldier's life."[4]

Exhausts England by his continual wars.

Although there were no important outbreaks during Henry's absence from the kingdom, except an occasional irruption of the Scots (see page 121), yet was there wanting a strong arm to repress the impositions of the great barons, and occasionally the audacity of armed bodies. The Commons made

(Privy Seal Writs, 3d Hen. V. [or VI.], Tower.) No man might keep a hound who had not lands to the value of 40*s*. per annum. (Rot. Parl. IV. 121.)

[1] Lib. nig. ii. 595. John Golafré, one of the esquires of the body to King Henry and lord of the manor of St. Helen's, was a benefactor to the bridges.

[2] ? D'apprest, loan.

[3] MS. Donat. 4601, art. 141.

[4] Idem, art. 156.

grievous complaint to the King that the foresters of the Earl of Arundel, in the rape of Lewes, imprisoned the King's lieges on pretence of their having trespassed on the Earl's warrens (which were so overrun with wild-beasts, both of the chase and of warren, that they destroyed all the crops of their neighbours), imprisoned and horribly tormented and maimed them, even to the burning of their feet.[1] Henry ordered the chancellor to grant the petitioners right and entire redress. The same nobleman appears to have had a feud with the Lord Furnival respecting a right of common in Shropshire, which also gave rise to the interposition of the King.[2] Another complaint against this turbulent Earl, who was then treasurer of England, was made by one Laurence de Platea, for arbitrary imprisonment.[3]

A petition to the Commons from Robert Whytyngton, Esquire, and his son Guy, offers a curious picture of the lawless state of the times. They stated that, as they were riding from the city of Hereford, towards their own house, they were as-

[1] Rot. Parl. iv. 78.

[2] The King to the Bishop of Winchester, chancellor,—

"Pour ce que nous avons ordennez que les Justices de nostre Banc leur transporterent en nostre contee de Salop et aillours deinz nostre roiaume pour redresser tous maneres attemptates, offenses et riotes faitz encontre nos loys, volons que de la matere quelle nous prisniez en noz maynes touchant certeine discorde parentre noz tres chiers et foialz cousins Le Conte Darundelle dune part, et la Sire de Ffurnevale dautre part, pour le comune de Poukesmere, pleine division soit faite hors de noz maines, et mise en jugement de les Juges de nre Banc susdit, sachantz que nous avous fait savoir a les susdites parties de ceste nostre entencion et vouloir en celle partie. Et nostre Seigneur soit garde de vous. Donne soubz nostre signet a nostre chastel de Leycestre le iij. jour de Juyng." (1413 or 1414. Letters Missive, Tower of London.) The retainers of the house of Arundel wore oak-leaves in their collars.

[3] Rot. Parl. iv. 90.

saulted near the town of Mordeford, in the county of Hereford, by certain armed servants of Richard Oldecastell, Esquire, and others, to the number of thirty men; that they were carried by force to a certain mountain in the neighbourhood, deprived of their horses and armour, and carried to an unknown chapel, where they were imprisoned that night; that they were threatened to be carried off to Wales, and to be put to death, if they did not produce sufficient men of the neighbourhood to become bail for them for six hundred pounds,[1] &c.

In the ninth year of his reign, the Commons petitioned the Duke of Gloucester to use his influence with the King to induce him to return home; they were not without fears that England might become an appanage to his continental dominions.[2]

Growing power of the House of Commons

One important advantage was gained by the House of Commons during this reign. It had been too much the custom for bills to be passed with the royal assent upon petition from the Lords alone, or, at least, important alterations so made in existing laws had become statute law. Against this custom the Commons protested in the strongest manner, and requested that "consideringe that the Commune of youre lond, the whiche that is, and ever hath be, a membre of youre Parlement, ben as well Assenters as Petitioners, that fro this tyme foreward, ... there never be no lawe made thereuppon, and engrossed as Statute and Lawe, nother by addicions, nother by diminucions, by no maner of terme ne termes, the whiche that sholde chaunge

[1] Rot. Parl. iv. 98.

[2] Rot. Parl. iv. 125.

the sentence, and the entente axsed by the speker mouthe, or the Petitions beforesaid yeven up in writyng by the manere forsaid, withoute assente of the forsaid Commune."[1] To this the King graciously consented.

Henry's imperfections.

Henry, however, it must be admitted, even in his latter years as a monarch, was far from being a perfect character. It is more than probable that he was but too ready to charge the Queen Dowager with sorcery, in order that he might have a pretext for seizing upon her large revenue, part of which he bestowed upon Queen Katharine;[2] and he so far forgot his magnanimity as to put to death in cold blood all the Scots whom he captured in France, upon the pretence that they were in rebellion against the captive Prince James, who followed in his train, and whom he called their sovereign, but in reality to gratify a feeling of revenge. After the capture of the town of Montereau, he threatened to hang the prisoners he had taken if the castle would not surrender; and, upon the refusal of the captain, he actually hanged many of these unfortunates in the sight of the garrison.[3] At Rouen, too, his refusal to allow the women and children to pass the English lines, brought the guilt of their blood upon his head. Some allowance, it is true, must be made for the barbarity of the age; Philippe Auguste had been guilty of similar cruelty at the siege of Château-Gaillard;

[1] Rot. Parl. iv. 22.

[2] Miss Strickland's Life of Katharine of Orleans. About six weeks before his death, Henry, struck with remorse, ordered restitution of Johanna's dower "lest it should be a charge unto our conscience," and presented her with cloth for five or six gowns, together with horses for eleven cars. (Acts of Privy Council.)

[3] Des Ursins.

still the crime must be recorded, and with detestation. Henry was led on by the spirit of conquest to attempt more than he first designed,—the conquest of Normandy.[1] He eventually attempted to deprive the Dauphin of his throne, perceiving which, one of his principal officers Sir John Cornwall, after his son had been killed at Meaux, left him in disgust and returned to England.[2]

Such violations of justice and humanity were but poorly compensated by his punctilious observance of the forms of religion, and his ready acknowledgment of the overruling hand of the Almighty in the victories he gained over his enemies. They are foul stains on the fair fame of this otherwise good king and great warrior; who, like other illustrious candidates for fame, Gustavus Adolphus, Gaston de Foix, and Maurice of Saxony, died long before he had attained the meridian of life.

A copy of the Muster Roll of the army, taken previous to Henry's second continental expedition, is given in the Appendix, as well as other unpublished records of his reign. The original Muster Roll, preserved in the Chapter-house, is probably the most complete document of the kind in existence.

In concluding, the Editor wishes to acknowledge his obligations to the gentleman[3] who has so ably

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[1] Well might the monk of St. Denys, referring to the unprincipled invasion of Normandy by Henry IV. in 1412, in favour of the Duke of Orleans, exclaim, "The English, those mortal enemies of the kingdom, who for the last sixty years have tried all means to gain possession of it, and who, issuing like a cloud of insects from their maritime retreat situated at the extremity of the world, have infested France without ceasing!" Chron. book xxxii. chap. 32.

[2] Des Ursins.

[3] Mr. C. A. Holdstock, of No. 30, Hunter Street, Brunswick Square.

assisted him in transcribing the Latin manuscripts; and, he would add, in the words of Hoccleve, that

"if any plesance
" Happe mighte on his poore souffisance
His lyves joie it were and sustenance."

GESTA HENRICI QUINTI,

REGIS ANGLIÆ,

AUCTORE CAPELLANO IN EXERCITU REGIO.

GESTA HENRICI QUINTI

REGIS ANGLIÆ.

Capitulum Primum.

A. D. 1413.

SERENISSIMUS princeps Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ, Henricus quintus post conquestum, coronatus est apud Westmonasterium, nono die mensis Aprilis, Dominicâ, in passione Domini,[1] ab incarnatione ejusdem M.CCCC.XIII°. Cùm regnare cœpisset ætate juvenis sed maturitate senex, ut verus electus Dei, quæ sursum sunt sapiens, ea studuit omni devotione complecti, quæ honorem Dei, ampliationem ecclesiæ, patriæ liberationem, ac pacem et tranquillitatem regnorum respicere poterant, et præsertim duorum regnorum Angliæ et Franciæ, ut magis cohærentium et conjunctorum, quæ à diuturnis flebilibus temporibus, non sine magnâ et deplorandâ effusione cruoris humani, præliis intestinis se invicèm affecerunt.

Sir John Oldcastle rises in insurrection.[2]

Et dum sacratissimæ cogitationes istæ occuparunt mentem regiam, Deus ipse, qui scrutator est cor-

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[1] St. Cuthbert's day, (20th March,) "accidente tamen Dominicâ in passione Domini." (Rich. Rede's Chron. Bodl. Rawlinson MS. c. 398.) Passion Sunday was then the fifth Sunday in Lent.

[2] The marginal remarks, the dates excepted, are those of the chronicler, but rendered into English for the sake of uniformity with the other works of the Society.

A. D. 1413.

dium, et in cujus manu corda sunt regum, ut simul vexatio daret intellectum, et in conflatorio tribulationis probaretur electus ejus, permisit adversarium in eum insurgere, quendam Johannem de Veteri Castro, militem, unum de præcarissimis ex magnis domesticis suis. Qui vir famosus in populo, elatus corde, fortis viribus, sed virtute debilis, non solùm in regem, sed in universalem præsumpsit ecclesiam. In tantum enim eum intoxicaverat Wycliviana invidia, quod resumens ferè omnes errores et hæreses, quos, in subversionem statûs utriusque mucronis, dudum ille pseudo-propheta et damnatæ memoriæ Johannes Wyclif, sub novorum terminorum texturis ab antiquo paganismo revocaverat, factus est quasi dux et capitaneus in turbine populi, quem per diversas partes Angliæ pestis hujusmodi inviscàrat. Qui et non est veritus sublimitatem regiam, versutis verborum insidiis hujusmodi veneno mortifero attentare. Sed pius et misericors Deus, qui neminem tentari permittit ultra posse, sed dat semper suis electis in tentatione proventum, non solùm cor regis dedit immobile, sed et ipsum tam contra proditiosum virum, quàm virus, armavit. Increpavit enim illum rex tanti sceleris renovatorem, et eidem infudit nunc oleum, nunc vinum, ut si quo modo potuisset, ejus venenatæ præsumptionis ulcera intercideret. Sed cùm demum seditiosus, nec blanditiis nec terroribus sed nec ullâ suasione à suâ obstinatâ et damnatâ opinione reflecti quivit, censuit eum feriri gladio, primò spirituali, inde temporali, quem nec verborum mollities nec minarum asperitas ab his conceptuum sceleratissimorum uberibus potuit ablactare. Et statim assistente potentiâ regiâ, et ad hoc principaliter agente, felicis recordationis dominus Thomas Arundelle, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, vir altæ prosapiæ, profundi

He is condemned as a heretic.

ingenii, nobilis defensor ecclesiæ, quem nec prosperitas extollere nec adversitas dejicere potuit, et quo strenuior in præliis Christi et contrà hujuscemodi seditiosos homines nusquam repertus est à diebus antiquis,[1] præfatum proditorem Dei et hominis sequenti mense Septembri apud Londonium, propriâ confessione, immò violentâ et obstinatâ assertione convictum damnavit, hereticum, et ipsum brachio seculari tradidit, ulteriùs juxtà regni legitima puniendum.

A.D. 1413.

September.

Sed regis pietas miserentis militiæ dicti apostatæ, distulit mortis et ignis sententiam et sub spe reducendi ovem perditam ab invio erroris sui, ad viam veritatis à quâ fatuitatem suam dogmata perversorum abduxerant, eum intrudi fecit ad tempus

He is committed to prison, but breaks out and flees away.

[1] Archbishop Arundel, with the Bishops of London and Winchester, sat to try Sir John Oldcastle, in the Chapter House of St. Paul's, on September 23. The archbishop afterwards held a great convocation of the clergy at "Powles," on St. Edmund's Day, (20th November,) which continued till the 4th day of December (Bodleian; MS. Digby, 235, attributed to Hoccleve, in which the Lollards are termed "Lowlers," favouring the derivation from "lolium." So Chaucer nearly, "Loller.") At this synod attended twelve inquisitors of heresies, who had been appointed the year before. At Henry's accession, Arundel possessed, for the fifth time, the Chancellorship of England; but Henry removed him to make room for his uncle, afterwards the cardinal, Beaufort. After his retirement he occupied himself with carrying on a violent persecution against the Lollards, whom Henry was rather disposed to screen. Arundel had been instrumental to the fall of Richard the Second; for Richard, with all his faults, had to a certain degree opposed the encroachments of the papacy, or, at least, during his reign the increasing influence of the Commons had strengthened the memorable statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, besides recognizing the statute of Mortmain. Some parties having ventured abroad to solicit their repeal, Richard, by a proclamation, ordered them to return to England on pain of death and forfeiture of estate. During his reign the Holy Scriptures were not suppressed, nor was there one drop of blood shed for what "they call heresy" till the commencement of the reign of Henry the Fourth. But the power which Richard was thus endeavouring to reduce, at last, through the subtle Arundel, effected his own ruin. The archbishop died in the early part of the year 1414.

A.D. 1413. October.

sub vinculis in Turri Londoniensi. Sed intrà fines Octobris solutus à vinculis tergiversator ille sub promisso quod revocaret suas opiniones hereticas et staret judicio ecclesiæ, in custodiâ tum tentus usque ante tribunal convocandi cleri sisti posset, rupit carceres et aufugit.

Jan. 1414. He conspires and invents treacherous projects.

Et exinde conspirans in antris et diverticulis cum suis comitibus, ut priùs in utriusque gladii potestatem, infrà proxima dominicæ nativitatis solemnia cùm esset in terrâ, juxtà angelicam cantilenam, pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis, et omnes rectæ fidei in gaudiis et exultatione circà celebrationem ipsorum solemniorum occupati erant, et nil tale meditarentur, et rex cum majore parte procerum regni sui spiritualium et temporalium in manerio suo de Eltham Epiphaniam Domini sicut præcedentia solemnia celebrasse voluit, vir ille sanguineæ et inauditæ perfidiæ proposuit nocturnis insidiis assultum fecisse in regem et suos, et indifferenter omnes gladio et mortibus addixisse. Sed compertâ proditione satellitis Satanæ et ordinatâ resistentiâ, Deus innocentes eripuit de manibus impiorum. Adhuc tamen versutus ille desistere noluit, sed functus ut ante duplici seditione, in regem et universalem ecclesiam pro suo consummando nefandissimo proposito vires ulteriores conabatur extendere. Nam posterâ die cum rex divertisset ad palatium suum Westmonasteriense idem cornus perfidiæ cum suis cornicibus, quæ ferè ex omni latere Angliæ sibi ex conducto advolasse debuerant, ibi de propè suburbanâ, juxtà hospitale Sancti Ægidii infrà milliare à palatio, proposuit campum cepisse de nocte, quasi regem suum et dominum ligeum, in contrariâ parte utriusque fidei, ad manus definitionem et campestre prælium incitaret. O mira miseranda et amaza vesania! quæ simul præsumpsit in Christum et Christum Dominum longè

He challenges the King to combat in the field.

A. D. 1414.

graviùs quàm filius mulieris Israelitidis quin potius quàm Dathan et Abiron punienda. Sed, Deo volente, hâc tertiâ proditione compertâ, statutis custodiis et vigiliis [1] per civitatem Londoniæ quam pestis hujusmodi multipliciter per Angliam insaniaverat.[2] Rex nocte illâ campum pervenit, adversarius verò inde præmunitus disparuit, et clientes ejus qui de manè venerunt de partibus, credentes eum invenisse in campo, ac alii de sectâ suâ qui priùs capti erant quidam dijudicabantur suspendio et ignibus, et quidam solo suspendio juxtà reperti unius vel utriusque læsæ majestatis et blasphemiæ criminis qualitatem. Sed et ipse Vetus Castrum cum suâ vetustate et novitate traditus Satanæ, exinde in antris et latibulis latitavit et latitat à conspectu hominum, velut alter Cain vagus et profugus super terram. Cujus damnationis summa cum processu in registro archiepiscopi continetur.[3] Dum verò rex noster cum suâ fideli gente armigerâ contrà hostiles insidias dicti filii tenebrarum steterat, sub sereno sidere in campo

He disappears, and his followers are burnt.

Where his sentence is found; also, concerning the falling star.

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[1] The civic watch and the sentries on the City walls.

[2] MS. Sloane, 'infamaverat.'

[3] It is preserved in Bale's History of the Process against Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham. Oldcastle was accused, first, for a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of their ordinaries. The Synod concluded that "it was not possible for them to make whole Christ's coat without seam, unless certain great men were brought out of the way which seemed to be the chief maintainers of the disciples of Wyckliffe." Oldcastle seems to have acted inconsistently, and to have offended Henry by appealing to the Pope, Henry said, "He should tarry in holde till such time as it were of the Pope allowed, and then, would he, or nyld he, the archbishop should be his judge." (Hargrave's State Trials, i. 38. folio edition.) This great man had heard Wycliff preach in his youth, and his eloquence, learning, good sense and great natural courage, rendered him an eminent champion for the truth, in times abounding with vice and error. The charge against him of rising in arms against his sovereign is made only upon the authority of Walsingham and Arundel's party, who *certainly* forged a false recantation for him. The anecdote of his telling Sir Thomas Erping-

A. D. 1414.

prædicto, subitò in occiduo nostro visum est quasi cœlum aperire et stellam emittere splendidam, quæ volavit per devexum poli inter nos et boream, et quæ in magnâ coruscatione luminis crescebat in longum plusquam arcus bis traheret juxta humanum judicium. De cujus significantiâ plurimi loquebantur plura. Sed ego qui scribo, volens ponere omnia in cœlum, ejus præsagium Deo auctori naturæ et elementorum operationi relinquo. Piè tamen credebatur à multis quod nobis apparuit ad illuminationem fidei, et adversario quasi ad percussionem in fulmine ultionis.

Of the early life and presumed cause of the intention of Oldcastle.

Hunc vero hostem et subversorem ecclesiæ primo "creavit" natura humilem. Inde cædes et rapina Wallensium promoverunt in militem, et postremò fortuna blandiens ad dominum de Cobham per conjugium evocavit. Inde verò turgidus propagandæ dominationis libidine voluit fieri de magno major, de divite ditior, de subdito imperator. Et ut suæ fœditatis corruptæ intentum sub velamine sanctitatis in actum produceret, detestans crimina aliena sed non curans propria, conatus est ductore Satanâ ut simul armasset manum laicam in spoliationem ecclesiæ,[1] et ut cœleste et subcœleste coarctasset imperium ut perprimum dilataret.[2] Sed noluit Deus, immo percussit in irâ suâ subitò peccatorem, num non meritò, ab excelsis ruit in ima, de dominio in servitutem transivit, ac de securitate statûs medii in

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ham, who was present at his execution, that he should rise again the third day, would, *if true*, prove him to be a visionary, but it must be received from his enemies with much suspicion. He was sheriff of Herefordshire in the 8th of Henry IV., and was four times summoned to Parliament as a baron. He gained his title by marrying Joan, granddaughter and heiress of John Lord Cobham.

[1] The Cott. MS. Julius E. iv. commences here.

[2] The Sloane MS. omits 'ut perprimum dilataret."

mortis simulacrum, quem arrogans præsumptio tam faciliter in bestiam deformavit. Hic quidem tyrannias, et insolentias quasque damnavit, sed tamen eo truculentior juxta posse aut tyrannior nemo fuit.

A. D. 1414.

In isto evidenter claret aliter quod flagellat Deus filios quos recipit, et aliter quos decernit ut arbores steriles extirpare. Flagellavit enim regem per eum, et flagellavit eum per regem. Istum ut consumeret, alterum ut consummaret.

The various chastenings of God.

Capitulum Secundum.

Inter has igitur tempestates et tentationum angustias, adhuc mens regia stetit immobilis et frangi non potuit, immo priori inhærens proposito sacratissimo de ampliandis ecclesiis et pace regnorum; primò, tria fundare cepit monasteria, unum de ordine etc. in honorem etc. aliud de ordine etc. in honorem etc. et tertium de ordine etc. in honorem etc. circa manerium suum de Shene,[1] quod olim a tempore obitûs Reginæ Annæ, ad solum usque prostratum, proposuit melius, sumptuosius et longè magnificentius quàm in statum pristinum revocare.

The King founds monasteries, and restores the manor (house) of Shene.

[1] After the death of Queen Anne, which took place at Shene, Richard II. would never enter the manor-honse, and it went to decay. There was but one monastery, strictly speaking, at Shene, dedicated to "Jesus of Bethlehem," for 40 monks of the Carthusian order. Of this frequent mention occurs in the documents of the period. Henry writes to the Bishop of Winchester, Chancellor, from Mortlake, on the 20th March, 1414 or 1415: "Que vous faciez faire nos lettres patentes pour notre maison de Beðleem, que tielz masons labourers et ouvreurs ovec un batel pourront attendre et demourer sur lour overaigne illocques, selon ce que un prestre, portour de cestes, vous donnera plein enformacion de nostre part," &c. Another letter of similar import was written on the 17th of the same month (Letters Missive, Hen. V., Tower of London). Within the monastery at Shene was a hermitage for a recluse, endowed with an annual rent of 20 marks. (Monast. Ang. vi. 29.) Walsingham says they were called Celestines, and kept the rules of St. Benedict to the letter.

The monastery at Sion was for religious men and women of the order of St. Bridget.

A. D. 1414.

He sends to the Emperor to contract an alliance.

Et deinde transmissis ambassiatis solemnibus ad superillustrissimum principem Sigismundum, Regem Hungariæ, electum in imperatorem, quo nullus unquam legitur laborasse strenuiùs circa reformationem et liberationem ecclesiæ, à caliginosis ergastulis in quibus horrendum scisma eam à multis retrò Christianorum suspiriis crudeli tirannide tenuit et captivavit,[1] missis etiam consimilibus ambassiatis ad Regem Arragoniæ et alios principes Christianos, amicitias et alligantias mutuas contraxit cum eis. Quarum alligantiarum tenores et scripta reperies in libro evidentiarum regalium et recordorum. Et interim intermissis ambassiatis solemnibus inter duo regna Angliæ et Franciæ pro pace perpetuâ, tandem cum rex noster plurima ambassiata hujusmodi ac tractatus exactissimos inaniter consumpsisset, eo quod Francorum consilium nimis inhærens propriæ, quâ pro lege utitur, voluntati, nullâ viâ æquitatis

Of the embassies between the two kingdoms of France and England, &c.

[1] The Council of Constance was called by the Emperor Sigismund in 1414, with the concurrence of Pope John XXIII., with a view of settling the claims of the three pretenders to the Papacy. After deciding that a council was superior to the pope, it deposed the three competitors, and elected a new pope, Otho Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. He, however, had still a rival in Benedict till November, 1424, nay, in Clement VIII., chosen as his successor, who did not resign till July, 1429. It was this Council (of never-dying infamy) who deposed a Pope who was disgraced by nearly all the vices which degrade humanity, and yet committed to the flames John Huss and Jerome of Prague, for denying his infallibility, and for maintaining the inviolability of conscience. The letters of John Huss, written in the prospect of execution, are full of interest. A French translation of them, by M. de Bonnechose, has recently appeared at Paris.

In the Cott. MS. Cleop. E. ii. fol. 337. *b.* will be found Henry's instructions to his ambassadors for the bulls he wished to obtain from the pope at the Council of Constance in the fifth year of his reign. The particulars are curious and characteristic: amongst them is the following,

"Item, plena remissio pro rege semel anno quolibet quoad-junxerit, et semel in morte."

The secretary of the embassy, Thomas Polton, acknowledges the receipt of 2283 florins, or £400, on this account, of which he accounts for 1071 florins 3 gr. "et residuum stet in Banco mercatorum."

A.D. 1414.

The latter part of July.

seu justo medio, ad pacem illam inflecti quivit absque enormi læsione coronæ Angliæ et exhæredatione perpetuâ ejusdem, in certis de nobilissimis portionibus nostris sui in regno illo, quamvis satis nobili et notabili pro hujusmodi pace redimendâ cessisse voluit; aliud non videns remedium seu medium per quod ad jus suum venire posset, ad supremi judicis convolavit sententiam, censiens sub ipsius auxilio sui justi mucronis vibrare potentiam, et inculpati gladii executione expetere quod Francorum culpabilis et injusta violentia tam longo tractu temporis usurpare et detinere contendit. Et convocato propter hoc navigio, et congregato exercitu,[1] invectisque omnibus quæ ad tuitionem suorum et impugnationem hostium necessaria videbantur, celato pene omnibus præterquam

He assembles an army against the injustice of the French.

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[1] Henry had caused his forces to be in readiness and reviewed as early as the month of May, witness the following document, which escaped the diligent search of Sir H. Nicolas:—

"Nous confiant pleinement de les (*sic*) foialtee de nostre ame esquier William Massy, lui eons assignez de prendre et surveoir les monstres que se ferront a la ville de Dovorre le vynt et quint jour de ce present moys de May des capitaines desouz nomez, et des gens darmes et archiers en lour compaignies, a passer, si Dieu plest, en cest nostre present viage vers nostre roiaume de Ffraunce, et de certifier distincement et apertment devers nous et nostre conseil de les manere et sufficance darray des capitaines et leurs gens susditz, cest assavoir, de

		Hommes darmes.		Archiers.
Johan Holand, Chivaler, . . .	ovec	24	et	72
Johan Burnham, Esq.		2	"	6
Geffrey de Wryghtyngton, Esq.		6	"	18
Esmon Cheyne, Esq.		14	"	42
Johan Watford et Rob^t. Wolf, Esqrs. . . .		1 other		9
Reynald Grey, Chivaler		20	et	60
Tho^s. Langford et Johan de Clayton, Esqrs. .		10	"	30
Johan Popham, Chivaler		30	"	90
W^m. Lawrence, Esq.		5	"	15

Richard Wydevylle, Esq. was appointed to review other forces at Dover on the same day, of which the principal captains were Sir John Grey and Sir Godfrey Hilton, each with 40 men-at-arms and 120 archers. The writs are dated the 16th of May, from Westminster. (Privy Seal Writs, Tower, 3rd Henry V.)

A.D. 1415. strictissimo suo consilio quorsum proras verteret, transfretare disposuit in Normanniam pro ducatu suo Normanniæ primitùs recuperando, qui est sui juris plenariè à tempore Willielmi primi conquestoris quamvis modò sicut à multis retro temporibus contra Deum et omnem justitiam Gallorum violentiâ sic detentus. Et cum apud abbatiam de Tichefelde, non longè à portu Hamonis, super adventu exercitûs sui et in consilio privato regni aliquandiu moram extraxerat, transcribi fecit, sub literis et sigillo Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et subscriptione notarii, pacta et conventiones dudum inita inter serenissimum principem regem Angliæ Henricum quartum, genitorem suum, et certos de majoribus principibus Franciæ super jure divino et conquestu ducatûs Aquitaniæ, a quibus contra propria eorum juramenta, conscriptiones et sigilla, temerè recessissent. Et misit de transcriptis illis generali consilio ac præfato Sigismundo imperatori et aliis principibus catholicis, ad effectum quod sciret tota Christianitas quantas sibi intulisset injurias Gallicana duplicitas, et quod quasi invitus et involuntarius cogeretur vexilla erigere in rebelles. Cujus transcripti tenorem reperies in alio libro inter evidentias regias et recorda.

Of the transcripts on the subject of the Duchy of Aquitaine, and where they are to be found.

21st July. (Rot. Parl.)

Et dum deinceps in castro suo Porcestriæ super transitu suo per morulam expectasset, ecce adhuc Deus volens experiri constantiam electi sui, permisit eum iteratò tentari et tundi, etiam alio diræ turbinationis malleo. Nam adversarius noster Diabolus, qui semper invidet omni bono proposito, intravit in corda quorundam qui prope erant à lateribus ejus, viz. in dominos Ricardum, comitem Cantabrigiæ, consanguineum suum germanum, Henricum, dominum le Scrop[1] de sibi magis domesticum, et qui secretis re-

Of the treason and punishment of the Earl of Cambridge.

[1] MS. Sloane, 'de Lesthorp.'

giis vix fuit alicui tertius in regno,[1] necnon et Thomam Grey, militem famosum et nobilem, si non cum hâc proditionis maculâ violasset. Quorum crudelis dementia et demens crudelitas, corruptâ libidine dominandi, sed potiùs odore promissorum vel munerum Gallicorum, non solum in impedimentum propositi itineris, sed etiam in regiæ necis exidium nimis atrociter et inhumaniter conspiraverunt. Sed qui sedet super cherubim et intuetur abbissos, et scit quàm vanæ sunt cogitationes hominum, citò liberavit justum ab impiis, et revelavit iniquitatem Judæ, et proditionem malorum per dominum de Mortuo Mari, comitem Marchiæ, cujus innocentiam in hoc exitiali proposito attentassent. Et statim propter hoc tacitè tum et sapienter inter cæteros dominos, per regem, quasi ad consilium vocati, et capti in eodem castro et usque ad portum Hamonis adducti, sequenti die Lunæ

A. D. 1415.

[1] Henry Lord Scrop, of Masham, was Treasurer of England and a Knight of the Garter, and had been on such intimate terms with Henry as to have occasionally shared his bed. The three conspirators were charged with selling their king for French gold. "Ipsum regem Francigenis pro uno millione auri vendiderunt, ac ipsum et fratres suos interficere subitò proposuerunt." Richard Rede's Chron. (Bodl. Rawlinson MS. c. 398.) The charge, however, is incredible. Their main design was evidently that set forth in the verdict of their jury: "Conspiraverunt, quod ipsi..... Edmundum Comitem Marchiæ, imò licentiâ Domini Regis, ad partes Walliæ ducerunt, et ipsum superioritatem Regni Angliæ, *in casu quo Dominus Ricardus, nuper Rex Angliæ secundus post conquestum, defunctus extitisset*, suspicere procurarent, ac quandam proclamationem in dictibus partibus Walliæ, nomini predicti Comitis Marchiæ, ut heredis coroniæ Angliæ...... facerent." (Rot. Parl. iv. 65.) In this view Leland coincides. (Coll. i. 701.) Sir Thomas Grey was executed first, on the 2nd of August. At the trial of the two peers, the Duke of Clarence acted as Henry's vicegerent; the forms of law were partly attended to, but the constitution was violated. The lords were not, in effect, tried by their peers. (Carte, ii. 679.) If the Earl of Cambridge's confession can be relied on, the Earl of March must have been, at one time, a consenting party to the conspiracy, and, indeed, he obtained a pardon on the 7th of Aug. (Fœdera and Ellis' Letters, 2nd series, vol. i.) It is remarkable that Henry VI. remitted part of the sentence of Sir Ralph Grey, "on account of the loyalty of his grandfather, Sir Thomas, to the

A. D. 1415. 5th August.

quinto die Augusti Anno Domini M.CCCC.XV°. latâ in publicè confessoris sententiâ, dicti domini, Ricardus comes Cantabrigiæ, et Thomas Grey plectebantur capitibus. Et præfatus Henricus de la Scrop, quia magis familiaris inimicus in magnis vituperium, propter reatûs ignominiam, per medium villæ tractus ad locum supplicii extitit decollatus.

Capitulum Tertium.

Order is taken against treasons of a like kind.

Et dum adhuc plurimi etiam de fidelissimis regis eum retraxisse voluerunt ab hujusmodi transfretandi proposito, tum propter consimiles proditiones occultas, tum etiam et maximè propter rabiem supradicti domini Johannis de Veteri Castro et consentaneorum suorum, de quorum insurrectione in absentiâ regiâ murmur pullulare inceperat, ipse tamen intrepidus et mag-

king's most noble predecessor, (Richard,) in whose cause he was beheaded with the Earl of Cambridge at Southampton."

Shortly after his return from Agincourt, Henry bestowed fifteen manors in the county of Richmond, Yorkshire, and a house near Paul's Wharf in London, which were forfeited to him by the Lord Scrop of Masham, to Sir Henry Fitzhugh. Sir Henry afterwards exchanged them for an annuity, and yielded a rose in return. (Privy Seal Writs, Tower, 5th Hen. V.) Henry appears to have been grateful to the Earl of March for his disclosure of the conspiracy. About the time of the Emperor Sigismund's visit to England, he gave him and his countess a most handsome present, viz. all the goods, to the value of 800 marks, found in a ship called the Mary, "which are forfeited to us, because they were shipped by certain merchants of the port of Galway in Ireland, to go to Zealand, Middelburgh, Flanders, or to our city of Harfleur, and nennye (*a strong negative*) to our staple of Calais." (Privy Seal Writs, Tower, 4th Hen. V.) N. B. It was an offence, punishable by the Admiralty Court, for any mariner to convey any goods belonging to the staple (*i. e.* wool or hides) to any other port than Calais. (Nicolas's Royal Navy, ii. 205.) The Earl of March had been brought up, for some time, with John, afterwards Duke of Bedford, and Philippa his sister, under the care of Sir Hugh de Waterton, at the Castle of Berkhamsted. (Rot. Pat. 5th July, 3rd Hen. IV. m. 10. p. 2.) In Nov. 1409, the Prince of Wales received a grant of 500 marks a year for the maintenance of the Earl and his brother. (Fœdera, viii. 608.) A sincere friendship afterwards existed between the earl and the sovereign who supplanted him.

nanimus princeps qui verisimiliter agebatur spiritu Dei, noluit averti à priori proposito, sed positis, ex communicato consilio, quibusdam de fidelissimis suis qui etiam secum commeasse debuerant in quolibet comitatu ubi de proditione vel insurrectione hujusmodi timebatur, cum amplâ potestate ad custodiam pacis et repressionem malorum, sequente die Mercurii à dicto castro suo Porcestriæ in unâ naviculâ ad mare descendit. Ascendens navem 'suam'[1] vocatam le Trinite inter portum Hamonis et Portesmouthe; et statim erigi fecit veli virgam in medium mali, ut simul suam promptitudinem velandi ostenderet, et signum daret navigio sparso per loca maritima ad eum citiùs quò poterant festinandi.

A.D. 1415.

7th August.

Et cùm sequenti die dominico ferè omnes venissent, vento amicabiliter flante, exposuit vela ventis, in circiter mille quingentis navibus, exceptis his quæ à retrò extiterant circiter centum. Et dum ora insulæ Vectæ post terga reliquimus, visi sunt cygni natantes infrà navigium, qui præsagire dicebantur in opinione omnium felicia auspicia operis intentati.[2] Et proximo die Martis, circa horam quintam post nonam, intravit rex ostium[3] Secani fluminis, quod de Parisiis per Rothomagum et Harfleu descendit in sinum maris, et fixit anchoras coram unâ villatâ vocatâ Kidecaws,[4] circiter tria milliaria ab Har-

11th August. He proceeds on his voyage and ominous swans are seen.

13th August.

[1] MS. Sloane, 'unam.'

[2] Lefevre de St. Remy mentions, however, an inauspicious circumstance that happened at this time; one of the ships took fire, and the flames extending to two others, three large vessels, with their cargoes, were consumed.

[3] MS. Sloane, 'portum.'

[4] The word "Kideoaws" is an English corruption for "chief (or chef) de Caux," that is, the head-land or promontory of the Pays de Caux. It is so called, not only in the following French Chronicle, but in the copy of Elmham, preserved in the Harl. library (see Elmham, Vita Hen. V. p. 16.) Nicolas (Battle of Agincourt) and Tyler (Life of Henry of Monmouth) incorrectly call the spot the "clef de Caux," and the latter author, (amusingly enough,) places it between Harfleur and Honfleur!

A. D. 1415.

fleu,[1] ubi proposuit terram ascendere. Et exposito statim vexillo consilii,[2] et accedentibus capitaneis, consilio habito, exiit edictum per totum navigium ne quis sub pœnâ mortis terram ascenderet ante regem, sed erga crastinum manè se pararent ad ascensum cum eo, ne fortè, si aliter fieret, Anglorum improbitas, non prævidens pericula, priùs importunè terram nacta, se spargeret circa prædam, et ascensum regium relinqueret nimis nudum.

The King lands in Normandy, Wednesday, 14th August.

Et cùm illuxisset dies crastina, viz. Mercurii in Vigiliâ Assumptionis beatæ Virginis, sole monstrante pulcram auroram, inter horam sextam et septimam, præmissis per regem ante diluculum et infra conticinia noctis, consanguineo suo nobili milite, domino Johanne Holonde, comite Huntingdoniæ,[3] cum certis præcursoribus equitibus ad explorandam patriam et situm pro requietione suâ, rex cum majori parte exercitûs sui in naviculis, batellis et cymbis terræ se applicuit, et statim petiit proximum montem versùs Harfleu, habens ex uno latere silvam, non de grossis arboribus, sed cæduam in declivo vallis versùs fluvium Secanum, et ex alio latere villulas, clausuras et pomaria pro requietione suâ et exercitûs, usque residuus populus ac equi et evectiones aliæ necessariæ possent de navibus apportari.

Account of the place of his debarkation.

Littus vero et locus ascensionis nostræ erat petrosus valdè saxis grandibus pro illisione navium aptis, ac aliis minoribus lapillis ad jactum habilibus in offensionem nostram et tuitionem hostium, si

[1] The passage "et fixit anchoras" to "ab Harfleu" is wanting in the Sloane MS.

[2] The "banner of Council" was a signal flag expressly carried for that purpose. Vide a remarkable document on the office and duties of admirals in the 14th century, in Nicolas's Royal Navy, II. 488.

[3] The father of the Earl of Huntingdon, who was executed in 1400, at Pleshey, with circumstances of great cruelty (See Chronique de la Traïson, &c. de Richard II. p. 252) married the sister of Henry IV.

nostro ascensui resistere voluissent. Et transcurso dorso littoris fiebant inter nos et terram fossæ profundæ plenæ aquâ, ac muri terrei magnæ spissitudinis ad dorsum earum versùs terram armati angulis et propugnaculis pro defensione, ad modum 'murorum'[1] turris vel castri, et inter unamquanque fossatam terra dimittebatur integra ad latitudinem unius cubiti pro unius solius hominis introitu vel exitu per easdem. Et sic locus ille ab initio rupium maris, ubi nullus sine maximâ difficultate credebatur ascensus, usque ad mariscum versùs Harfleu, circiter dimidium milliare vel ultra, defensus erat hujusmodi lapidibus quos accommodavit littus fluminis, ac fossis, et muris armatis quos providerat Gallicorum industria. Sed ex illorum segnitiâ, vecordiâ seu saltem incautelâ, omnino indefensus erat hominibus, ubi secundum humanum judicium, paucorum resistentia, si saltem habuissent corda virorum, nos verisimiliter ad magnum tempus et fortè perpetuò repulissent. In marisco quidem difficillimus erat introitus, tum propter fossas et foveas in quas flumen fluit et refluit, tum propter vias strictas, in quibus obsistentia brevissimi populi oppugnationi multorum millium suffecisset.

A. D. 1415.

Capitulum Quartum.

17th August. Salutary ordinances issued.

Cùmque erga diem sabbati omnia evecta erant de navibus quæ erant necessaria itineri, et interim regia providentia indixisset exercitui inter alia honestissima statuta, sub pœnâ mortis, ne ulteriùs incendia fierent, sicut fiebant in principio, quodque ecclesiæ et sacræ ædes cum suis bonis servarentur intactæ, et ne quis in mulierum manum mitteret, nec in sacerdotem vel ministrum ecclesiæ, nisi fortè armatum seu

[1] MS. Sloane, 'murorum' deest.

A.D. 1415. vim vel impetum facientem,[1] movit se versùs villam de Harfleu, cum suo exercitu disposito in tribus aciebus, et monstravit se coram villâ super ripam montis ex unâ parte in mediâ acie suâ, cæteris aciebus de post pro alis a lateribus constitutis. Ex aliâ verò parte adhuc venire non potuit, propter fluxum et refluxum fluminis ex uno latere villæ, et dulcem fluvium decurrentem per vallem ex alio.

Situation and description of the town of Harfleur.

Situatur enim villa in extremitate vallis, super crepidinem Secani fluminis, per quod mare fluit ultra medium villæ, et refluit ad unum milliare et ultra. Descendit etiam fluvius dulcis per mediam vallem, replens fossas in bonâ profunditate et latitudine, extra de sub muris ex parte vallis, et ex parte illâ ubi se rex monstravit, usque ad latus contiguum aquæ Secanæ, qui et intrat divisim sub muris per medium villæ, in unâ januâ fluviali et duobus collateralibus alveolis testudinatis, claudendis vel aperiendis pro toto vel parte ad libitum incolarum. Et intra sub muris duæ molendinæ volvuntur impetu introeuntis aquæ, servientes pro multurâ in alimentum urbanorum et plebium. Et transcursis molendinis, fluvius ab alveolis se remergit in amnem et pleno alveo per medium villæ percurrit in portum. Pars verò altera villæ opposita regi sita est, sed munita fossâ duplici, quarum interior inestimatæ profunditatis est et latitudinis competentis. Villa quidem non est nisi modica, sed pulcra valdè, armata et circumcincta muris externis angularibus, et idcircò secundùm magistrum Ægidium,[2] difficilioribus

[1] Henry's ordinances for his army are given at length in the Appendix to Nicolas's Agincourt, p. 31, 3rd edition.

[2] Ægidius Romanus, a pupil of Thomas Aquinas, and an archbishop, wrote his "De Regimine Principum," a work highly esteemed in the middle ages, for the use of Philip le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy. The third part of the third book is entitled "De re militare veterum," and was printed by Hahnius in 1722.

A.D. 1415.

ad impugnandum, ac facilioribus ac cautioribus ad resistendum, cum turribus altis et decentis structuræ, aliisque inferioribus intermediis fortalitiis, habens tres portas pro introitu et exitu, unam ex parte illâ ubi rex se monstravit, et duas ex parte oppositâ, quarum utramque coni circumducentis aquæ in dictis fossis a nostris excessibus protegebant.

Description of the "bulwerke."

Et ante introitum cujus libet ipsarum portarum priùs fabricaverat hostilis calliditas unum forte fortalitium quod nos "barbican" seu communis "bulwerke" appellamus, et illud ex parte regis fuit fortissimum et maximum eorum, armatum exteriùs rotundis et grossis arboribus ferè ad altitudinem murorum villæ affixis in circuitu, constrictisque fortiter et ligatis. Interiùs verò meremio, terrâ, et tignis excisis in antris et diverticulis pro receptione hostium et hostilium, ac rimis[1] angulis et porosis mansiunculis, per quæ in canellis suis, quas in nostro vulgari "Gunnys" vocamus,[2] ac telis, balistis, et

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This work was translated by Hoccleve, and the MS. in the Harl. library, No. 4826, is addressed to Henry. Another copy by Hoccleve is in the Bodleian library, (Digby MS. 233,) and is bound up with his translation (or copy of a translation) of Vegetius.

Vegetius "De re militare" was also a standard authority in military tactics. It is quoted by Lydgate in his "Siege of Troy," which he dedicated to Henry: "After the doctrine of Vegetius."

It is supposed to have been first translated into English by John de Trévisa in 1408, for his patron Lord Berkeley. (Vide Strutt's Regal Antiquities, p. 77.)

[1] MS. Sloane, 'rivis.'

[2] These were probably cannons of small bore, and of considerable length, resembling more "the tube" used to throw the Greek fire, than the cannon of the present day. The breech was open at the top, to receive the iron chamber containing the charge. The MS. Reg. 14, E. IV. has a representation of an artilleryman in the act of placing the chamber in a gun. Similar cannons of the time of Henry VI. may be seen in the Tower Yard. Dr. Meyrick has asserted that hand fire-arms were not invented till 1430, (Archæol. xxii. 60,) but recent researches have brought to light proof of their existence as early as 1372. (Nicolas's Royal Navy, ii. 185.)

Henry brought with him to the siege of Harfleur, bombards, apparently of considerable size, which were named "London," "Messagère," "The King's Daughter,"

A. D. 1415. offensivis aliis nos afficere potuerunt. Et erat structura ejus orbicularis, plus continens in diametro quàm jactus lapidis quo vulgus nostrum in Angliâ se solet ad limites recreare. Et circumibat illud aqua magnæ profunditatis, et latitudinis duarum, ubi strictiùs erat, lancearum, habens pontem pro introitu et exitu versùs villam, et ponticulum ligneum versùs extra, qui ad voluntatem hostium poni et retrahi potuit, quoties eis videretur expediens irrumpere in nostrates. Interiùs vero villa ornatur perpulcris ædificiis propè sitis, et solùm unicâ parochiali ecclesiâ decoratur.

Description of the port.

Portus quidem ejus pro receptione navium, et qui naves recipit usque in medium villæ, munitur muris claudentibus ex utrâque parte alvei super muros villæ cum intermissis competentibus turribus defensivis, in cujus introitu sunt duæ pulchræ turres, inter quas aqua influit et refluit, quarum una sublimis et procera valdè, armata dupliciter in summitate et medio, et altera inferior, armata solâ summitate catenas reciprocum mutuò prohibentes ne navis quævis sine licentiâ introeat vel exeat per easdem. Quem introitum ac magnam portionem muri ex unâ

&c. Speaking of the first-named, Lydgate says,

"His ball well fair he gan it throw
That the steeple of Harflete and bells also
With his breath he did down blow."

The bombard was a cannon of large bore composed of bars of iron welded together, somewhat similar to a mortar, but with a long trail piece for its better direction. It was sometimes fixed upon a pintle or moveable pivot, and sometimes upon a rough wooden carriage with two wheels. (C. H. Smith's Ancient Costumes of Great Britain.) The stone shots projected were of an astonishing size. It is recorded that Peter Doria was killed by a stone shot, from a bombard called the "trevisan," which weighed 195 lbs. (Chron. della Guerra di Chioza.)

From the following entry the cannons appear to have had two or more chambers to each. "For making two cannons with three chambers in each, and two cannons with two chambers in each *5l. 10s. 5d.*" (Pell. Issue Rolls, 23rd Feb. 6. Hen. V.) These were probably the moveable chambers before referred to.

parte, quæ patens et nuda erat navibus in fluxu, præarmaverat hostilis prudentia sudibus et arboribus magnis, ultrà grossitudinem femoris hominis, fixis in magnâ spissitudine, uno fine versùs villam intra, et alio versùs flumen extra, ut, si naves nostræ venissent in fluxu pro irruptione faciendâ per portum, vel assultum ingerendo ad muros, perceptis sudibus, vel se retraherent, vel non curantes de salute propriâ, aut sudibus fortè opertis per fluxum subitò illiderentur in eis, et verisimilè naufragium paterentur.

A. D. 1415.

Capitulum Quintum.

Cùmque, ut præscribitur, præfato die Sabbati, rex noster se monstrasset coram villâ, et hospitato exercitu in campis, hortis, clausuris et locis aliis propè, ut res bellica expostulat, iniisset consilium, qualiter fortitudini tantæ ex omni parte poni posset obsidio, et qualiter inter alia, stationes emitti possent, pro acquirendis alimentis hominum et jumentorum, in sustentationem exercitûs, necnon et qualiter vigiliæ diurnæ et nocturnæ propter irruptiones et insidias hostium meliùs et cautiùs ordinari valerent.[1] Die Dominicâ in crastino, ex alterâ parte villæ, quò ad-

Encampment of the army, and arrival of Gaucourt.

18th August.

[1] A contemporary Chronicler has given us King Henry's address to his army before the walls of Harfleur, which, if not so spirited as Shakspeare's celebrated speech—

"Once more unto the breach,
dear friends, once more,"

is yet far more characteristic: "And then our king led on his host and comforted them and said; 'Lads, be of good cheer, eat heartily and regale yourselves well, and come up all at your ease, for, with the love of God, we shall have good tidings.' And so our king with his host lay before the town of Harflete the breadth of a mile, for to barr our Englishmen from the town of Harflete; and then our king took his boots and searched the water (with his sword to ascertain its depth)." MS. Cott. Cleop. c. IV. fo. 15. The literal reading of the king's speech is as follows, "Elodys beþ a good cher & ablowe you & rekele yow wel & cõmyth up all with youre ese for with the love of Gode we schull have good tydynges."

A.D. 1415. 18th August. huc hostibus erat libera, et per nos inaccessa propter fluvios ut præscribitur prohibentes, intravit dominus . . . . . . de Gaucort, Gallicus, cum circiter tricentis lanceis, qui dicebatur missus in villæ custodiam ex parte consilii Gallicorum.

The Duke of Clarence is sent to the other side of the town.

Et nocte sequenti ex appunctuato consilio, rex misit illustrem principem dominum Thomam Ducem Clarenciæ, fratrem suum seniorem, militem non minùs armorum exercitio quàm animositate præclarum, cum parte exercitûs pro obsidione ponendâ ex illâ parte, cujus transitus erat circiter novem vel decem milliaria in circuitu, propter abrupta viarum et pericula vallium, et præsertim quia per vallem illam in quâ erat Harfleu transitus non patebat, eò quod oppidani in primo auditu ascensûs nostri, fractis pontibus obturassent meatum fluminis quod currebat per mediam vallem in villam, sicque ex obturatione illâ aqua intumuit in accessu nostro supra omnia prata vallis usque ad fossas murorum ad minus, et ubi minus per mensuram altitudinis femoris hominis, habens latitudinis plus per quartam quàm amnis Thamesis Londoniæ.

Capture of the enemy's wagons and carriages.

Et nocte illâ præfatus dux cepit in itinere suo certas bigas et quadrigas hostium, cum canellis et vasis pulverum ac telis et balistis in bonâ copiâ, quæ in defensionem villæ venisse de Rothomago putabantur. Et die Lunæ, sole serenante auroram, monstravit se super ripam montis ex illâ parte in frontem villæ, non sine timore verisimili et formidine inclusorum.

19th August.

Capitulum Sextum.

The city is besieged on every side, and peace is offered to the inhabitants.

Et ordinatâ deinceps obsidione ex parte maris per navigium, et ex parte vallis et dulcis fluminis per batellas, etiam servientes ad mutuum accessum tam regis quàm ducis, et divisi exercitûs, si foret neces-

A. D. 1415.

sitas, rex noster, qui non bellum sed pacem quæsivit, ut causam sui incœpti operis majoris armaret innocentiæ clipeo, juxta Deutronomium legis xx°,[1] proposuit pacem obsessis si sibi aperirent januas et villam illam, nobilem portionem hereditariam coronæ suæ Angliæ, et ducatûs sui Normanniæ, redderent, ut deberent, liberè et sine vi.

Peace being rejected, the engines and guns are pointed.

Sed dum spretâ et parvipensâ oblatione istâ, villam illam contrà eum occupare et defendere contenderunt, rex noster, quasi invitus, citatus ad prælium, Deum invocavit testem inculpatæ querelæ suæ, et recensiens eis edicta pœnalia legis prædictæ exequenda in rebellem populum si sic finaliter persisterent indurati; volens tamen priùs uti lenioris impugnationis et flagellationis remedio, per quod et hostium vexationi et suorum tuitioni cautiùs prospicere posset, ut si fortè adhuc adversariorum rebellio hâc viâ posset inflecti, antequàm contrà eos ad duriora procederet, soporem exuit à palpebris suis, noctes et dies ducebat insomnes,[2] quousque aptatis et sitis machinis suis et canellis sub muris, infra jactus hostiles, eas tetendisset in faciem villæ, ac in muros, portas et turres ejusdem, et antè eas constituisset munitiones et tutamenta contrà jactus et offensiones hostium, et ex altis et spissis tabulatis, quæ sic fabricatæ et aptatæ fuerunt opere lignario et ferramentis, quod dum finis superior eis traheretur deorsum, inferior se levaret in aspectum villæ usque, signato percussionis loco, canellæ de sub eis efflarent lapides vi pulverum ignitorum.[3]

[1] Deuteronomy xx. 10. "When thou comest nigh to a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it."

[2] Elmham also relates that the king visited the sentries every night whilst his nobles were asleep, and satisfied himself that all the works were well and effectually executed. (Vita Hen. V. p. 46.)

[3] There is a drawing of a machine of this kind in a MS. of the time of Edward IV. (Reg. 14. E. iv. f. cclxxi. b. Dr. Meyrick.)

A.D. 1415.

Of the ditches around his entrenchments.

Fieri etiam fecit fossas ex utrâque parte munitionis, ex quibus et ex terrâ effossâ projectâ desuper appositos fasciculos muniebantur tam hi qui in ministerium canellarum et machinarum, quàm illi qui super diurnis et nocturnis vigiliis ad custodiam earundem propter irruptiones hostium fuerant deputati. Construi etiam fecit consimilia munimenta pro his qui die noctuque in adversum dicti fortissimi fortalitii, ne ab eodem hostes irrumperent, vigilabant.

The guard digs (a mine) towards the bulwark.

Et hi qui super ipsâ custodiâ deputati erant, quotidiè et continuè effoderunt, lucrantes terram versùs ipsum fortalitium, et nec cessaverunt usque tandem venerunt in ejus oppositum latus, ad latus saltem propius quò poterant propter aquam.

Et interim rex noster cum suis canellis et machinis[1]

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[1] In a prose note to Hardyng's Chronicle (page 389, ed. Ellis) we have the following addition: "Et posuit rex machinas canellas suas cum porcellis, clapers cum cuniculis, domos cum plouers, et alia abilimenta guerræ prope villam." The "porcella" seems to be the "sow" mentioned by the contemporary chronicler (MS. Cott. Claud. A. VIII.); that is, a kind of covered shed fixed on wheels, under which the besiegers filled up and passed the ditch, sapped the wall, and sometimes worked a kind of ram. It derived its name from the soldiers lying under it, like pigs under a sow: thus the Countess of March, who defended the castle of Dunbar against Edward III. threatened, that unless the Englishmen kept their sow better, she would make her cast her pigs.

"Beware, Montagow,
For farrow shall thy sow."

The "claperius" is described by Ducange as "hara cunicularia;" the centres, it is presumed, used in mining. "Plouers" is probably the English word "plowers" (ploughers), some instrument used for digging out the ground.

Amongst the machines then in use Hoccleve mentions "sprengolns, greete engynes with scorpions, and arblastes that bend with vyes, (vice,) also grete gynnes that scheten now a days stones of so grete a pays (? pace or piece) that no wal may withstonde hem, as hath iben scheued bothe in the north contray, and eke in werrus of Wallus, (Wales,) such gynnes be myȝtty inowȝ to destroye eny ordinaunce of tymber, suche as somer castellus beth, and othere of which we have ispoke before." (Translation of Vigetius, Bodl. Digby MS. 233.) Amongst the machines brought by the English, says the Monk of St. Denys, were some of an extraordinary size, which threw whole millstones with such a horrible smoke and such a frightful noise, that one would have thought they

A. D. 1415.

The strong parts of the town disarmed.

sic verberavit dictum fortalitium[1] ac muros et turres undiquaque, saltem ubi hostilis adversitas canellas suas et balistas tetenderat versùs nos, usque infra paucos dies, ut impetu et furiâ lapidum confringebatur magnâ ex parte idem fortalitium, murique et turres, ex quibus hostes suas offensiones emiserant, dirutis propugnaculis exarmati erant, et perpulcra ædificia ferè usque medium villæ vel totaliter corruerunt, vel inevitabilem minabantur ruinam, vel saltem dissolutis compagibus enormiter lædebantur.

Of the resistance of the enemy.

Et ut inter has varias oppugnationum et defensionum molestias, de laude hostium ex toto non sileam, hi per dictum fortalitium ac muros et turres quamdiu fuerunt armati, necnon per ruinas, cancellos et fracta foramina post darmationem[2] ipsorum, ac ex locis aliis ubi nullus putabatur locus refugii, insidiantes, in canellis, balistis et machinis suis damni et nocumenti fecerunt quod poterant. Et quantum canellæ nostræ ex fortalitio seu muris et turribus exarmassent de die, ipsi de nocte lignis faculis et doliis plenis terrâ, fimo, arenâ vel lapidibus, ad

had been shot "ab infernis." (Chron. b. xxxvi. c. 6.)

Elmham also mentions the wooden machines, but he reserves his wonder for the bombards,—"grandia saxivoma, quæ ab oris ignivomi faucibus miræ quantitatis lapides afflatu vehementissimo et violentiâ mirabile exspuentiâ, sonis terrificis et intolerabilibus," &c. (p. 43.) The author of the Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii. relates, that Henry brought with him guns, engines, and "trippgettes," sows, bastiles, &c. The tripgéte is said to be a corruption of trebuchet, or instrument which threw stones from three mouths at once.

Henry obtained his gunners from Germany. On the 3rd of November, 2 Hen. VI., 40*l.* were paid to four "Gunnemeysters" from Germany, who for a long time remained in the service of Lord Henry late King of England. (Pell, Issue Rolls.) Monstrelet mentions that the English brought with them "flondelles" and engines in great abundance. Paradin (Annales de Burgogne) writes the word "flombelles," which, if derived from "flamme" and "belle," would appear to be a bombard.

[1] bastellum, Note to Hardyng's Chronicle.

[2] pro 'dearmationem.'

A.D. 1415. supra fortalitium et muros, ac fasciculis congestis luto, terrâ et fimo, ad intra muros dissolutos et adminiculis aliis rearmarunt. Viculos etiam et venellas operuerunt hujusmodi luto, terrâ et fimo in magnâ spissitudine, ut lapides canellarum nostrarum cùm per eos vel in eis descenderent, absorberentur ab illis, ne inclusi fortè in venellis vel viculis existentes, subitâ et inopinatâ violentiâ lapidum vel fragmentorum eorum, damnum, lesionem, vel interitum paterentur. Ollas etiam plenas pulveribus adustinis, sulphuris, et calcis vivæ ad immittendas oculis nostrorum, si factus fuisset assultus, ac vasa furentium pulverum oleorumque et pinguium adustinorum pro combustione et consumptione ordinationum nostrarum, pro assultu cùm ad muros ascenderent, hostilis calliditas in muris paraverat.[1] Et nec potuit populus obsessus, juxta humanum judicium, se prudentiùs vel tutiùs quàm fecerat nostris oppugnationibus restitisse.

The attack by mines.

Et dum hæc agerentur rex proposuit oppugnationem fecisse per cuniculos, et in viis subterraneis, paratâ testudine,[2] suffodisse muros ex parte ducis Clarenciæ. Sed opus hoc, contra doctrinam magistri

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[1] The prose note to Hardyng's Chronicle adds, "aquæ bullientæ et plumbi bullientis." This was in strict accordance with the doctrine of Vegetius: "Loke thou have plente of betyn, of talwe, grece and oyl that men cleputh to trendare, al this most thou have redy to brenne and to foyre, ȝif nede be, the gynnes and the ordinaunce of thine adversary." (Hoccleve's translation, Bodl. MS. Digby, 233.)

[2] The testudo militaris of ancient times was a screen made of boards and covered with raw hides, to defend the soldiers at a siege. The word in the text may be either the screen to conceal the entrance of the mines, or the wooden centres or roofs used by the miners called "clapers" in Hardyng's Chronicle. Elmham remarks that the English were unaccustomed to these mines (which he terms "cataractæ") from having been so long at peace; and Monstrelet states that the French encountered our men in these mines and inflicted a heavy loss upon us. In his second expedition Henry sent for miners from Liege.

A. D. 1415.

Ægidii, in conspectu hostium, cùm tamen ibi propter vicinum montem et causas alias aliter fieri non poterat, inchoatum, et per contracuniculos et aliam contrariam artis solertiam hostili industriâ bis delusum, et adhuc tertiò incœptum nihil commodi contulit, nisi fortè, vel timorem incutiendo inclusis, ut citiùs villam redderent, vel differendo assultum et ascensum murorum in salvationem humani cruoris sic esse potuit, et fortassis fuit causa majoris boni. Parari etiam fecerat rex noster fasciculos decem pedum longitudinis, et apportari per exercitum pro repletione fossarum ex parte suâ, castraque et fortalitia lignea ad altitudinem murorum, necnon scalas et instrumenta alia, præter ea quæ secum attulerat, pro assultu. Sed ex parte ducis Clarenciæ hujusmodi fasciculi parati erant et colligati in strues prægrandes pro repletione fossarum ex illâ parte. Sed et explorатâ conjecturatione hostium, de ignitione eorum etiam et gentis nostræ, cùm similiter essent in fossis, vi pulverum et adustinorum et paratorum in muris, sopivit illud propositum; servierunt tamen in munimenta nostrorum in cardine montis, contra jactus hostiles, sub quibus nostri adversas violentias missilium sæpiùs illudebant.

The fosse outside the walls is captured.

Et medio tempore vigilia nostra quæ constituta erat super dicto opere cuniculorum, recuperaverunt fossam exteriorem murorum, et immiserunt ad custodes tela in balistis, ac lapides in fundis, ut eos arcerent à muris, aliisque flagellis variis sub illo tutamento hostiles astutias afflixerunt, sic quod fossa illa quæ prius putabatur in grande munimentum eorum, facta est demum exclusis in arcem, et non minùs in tædium inclusorum.[1]

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[1] The means employed to gain the ditch are thus described in a note to Hardyng's Chronicle: "Etiam rex parari fecit obpugnationem per cuniculos in 'clapers,' tam diebus quam noctibus,

A. D. 1415.

Of the fosse on the side next the Duke of Clarence.

Et inter has varias solicitudines quia propter divisionem exercitûs et difficillimum accessum illius partis quæ erat cum rege, ad residuam partem quæ erat cum duce Clarenciæ, quia non nisi per batellos vel in gravi circuitu periculosa valdè erat obsidio ex illâ parte, propter irruptionem hostium, si supervenirent, eò quod locus ille erat propior et patentior ipsorum incursibus, idem dux, juxta doctrinam magistri Ægidii, et ex decreto regis, effodi fecit fossam bonæ profunditatis et latitudinis inter eum et hostes, et terram effossam, secundum eundem magistrum Ægidium, ad intrà projici versùs suos, in quâ fossam illam per grossas arbores et palos affixos armare cœpit, inter quos in quibusdam locis lapides ex canellis et tela ex balistis et arcubus, hostibus emitti possent in magnam et efficacissimam defensionem suorum, et non minorem lesionem hostium, si venissent. Hanc verò fossam, datis magistris operum, construi fecit per gentem suam armigeram et sagittarios, assignatis cuilibet lanceæ certis pedibus, et certis cuilibet arcui, donec opus integrè compleretur.

Capitulum Septimum.

The death of Richard Courtenay, bishop of Norwich.

Et post hæc opera et anxietates hostiles, pius et misericors Deus, volens experiri patientiam regis nostri et Christi sui, præter mortem nonnullorum aliorum nobilium exercitûs sui, tetigit eum in morte unius de amantissimis et præcarissimis suis, viz. domini Ricardi Courtenay[1] episcopi Norwicensis, qui

in viis subterraneis per sues, porcellos et 'plouers,' necnon per fasciculos ad implemendum fossata, ac etiam per bastellos et fortalicos ligneos ad altitudinem murorum villæ, ac per scalas et alia instrumenta, et cum illis oppugnavit villam, ita quod cuniculi et porcelli recuperaverunt fossam exteriorem villæ."

[1] The prelate was distantly related to the king, through his grandmother the Countess of Devon.

A.D. 1415.

vir nobilis genere, staturæ proceræ, excellentis ingenii, et non minus summæ eloquentiæ et literaturæ, quàm cæteris de nobilioribus naturæ dotibus insignitus, regiis continuè et consiliis putabatur præ omnibus gratiosus. Ægrotavit quidem die Martis, decimo Septembris, ex fluxu sanguinis,[1] et sequente die Dominico, rege præsente, pedes ejus tergente post extremam unctionem et oculos suos claudente propriis manibus, in multorum amaritudine et lacrimis, spiritum à carcere relaxabat; quem citò rex noster ex amore tenerrimo transmisit in Angliam, in sepulturâ regiâ Westmonasteriensi honorifice tumulandum.

15th Sept.

A sally is made from the bulwark.

Eodem die contigit aliud quod mentem regiam etiam satis potuit commovisse; nam adversarii nostri qui erant ad custodiam dicti fortissimi fortalitii, irruptionem fecerunt super custodiâ nostrâ quæ erat in adversum eis; et ex nostrorum inadvertentiâ et desidiâ, incenderunt munitiones eorum.[2] Sed demum, Deo volente, extinctus est ignis, et hostes fugantur absque gravi nocumento nostrorum. Improperabant tamen hostes nos somnolentes et desides, quia super custodiâ nostrâ non potuimus meliùs vigilasse.

The bulwark is set on fire and taken.

Et quia sunt bona vicina malis, et dulcia communitèr amaris succedunt, in crastino recordatus est

[1] Plures ex usu fructuum, et algore noctium, fœtoreque cadaverum diversarum pecudum quas mactavere per castrorum circuitum, et non operuerant cæspitibus, sive terrâ, nec injecerant in aquis fluvialibus ut earum putridas exhalationes tollerent, fluxu ventris vel dissenteriâ periere. (Walsingham, Ypod. Neust.)

[2] Alioque die succedente, non immediatè, Galli irrumperunt de bastello super comites Huntyngdon et de Kyme, Johannem Cornewaile, Willielmum Boursier, Johannem Gray, Willielmum Porter, et Johannem Stewarde, nobiles milites, qui cum gente suâ armigerâ et sagittariâ eos obpugnaverunt, et duro prælio devicerunt, occiderunt, et fugarunt in bastellum illud recuperandum, ubi pennones et vexilla sua super muros posuerunt." (Note to Hardyng's Chronicle.)

A. D. 1415. 16th Sept.

nostri Deus, et nobis obtulit victoriæ palmam de eodem fortalitio, quod Gallorum superbia semper invictissimum arguerat. Nam præsidente custodiæ nostræ ex adverso strenuo et animoso milite, quàmvis juvene, præfato Johanne Holand, comite Huntingdoniæ, et habito post nonam conflictu cum Gallis irrumpentibus super custodiâ illâ, sed fugatis, immissoque demum igne furenti per sagittam et etiam apposito ex industriâ et manu hominis ad partem illam quæ priùs conquassata erat lapidibus canellarum, et idcircò pronior facta ignibus capiendis, nostri instaurantes ignem continuè pulveribus adustinis tandem per fossam illam quæ erat inter eos et fortalitium, et quam priùs industria regia dictis longis fasciculis, sub nocturnis silentiis et tecturis repleri fecerat, recuperarunt partem fortalitii fortiorem. Et statim immissâ penonâ dicti comitis, illud combusserunt per medium, ubi erat major fortitudo Gallorum, ipsosque Gallos adhuc reluctantes et ignem extinguere satagentes, eò usque debellarunt donec demum vi armorum, telorum et incendii dissipata est fortitudo eorum, et nostris idcircò locum relinquentes, se infrà mœnia profugi, præsidio receperunt, ligno, lapide, terrâ et fimo, possibili solertiâ opturantes introitum ne nostrates in eos irruerent per eundem, ad magnam confusionem eorum et nostrorum non modicum consolamen. Et quàmvis nostrorum diligentia ex post ad ignis furentis extinctionem, ut potuit, laboravit, per duos tamen vel tres dies flamma plenè non potuit supprimi; sed et per quindenam post fumus ex fimo non potuit suffocari.

Capitulum Octavum.

A.D. 1415.

A parley is held with the besieged. 17th Sept.

Et habito tractatu die sequenti cum præfato domino Radulpho[1] de Gaucort qui se gerebat pro capitaneo, et cum valentioribus de consilio villæ, ut si adhuc recordarentur pœnarum in Deutronomio, et villam redderent absque ulteriori mortis vel belli duritiâ; sed spretis tractatibus, dum rex videret his levioribus impugnantium angustiis eos superari non posse, censuit ad duriora procedere contrà gentem duræ cervicis, quam nec allectiva blandities, nec consumptiva severitas potuit emollire.

An assault is ordered.

Et erga noctem proclamari fecit in buccinâ per medias acies, quod omnes, tam marinarii quàm alii, juxta assignationem capitaneorum suorum se pararent erga crastinum manè ad assultum et ascensum murorum, quos ad hoc jactus[2] canellarum nostrarum nobis in salvationem aptiores reddiderant, sed multum ineptiores hostibus ad resistendum, quin eis potiùs in ruinam. Et erga noctem incœpit eos plus solito calamitare lapidibus, ut eos teneret insomnes et per consequens dormitiores in crastino redderet ad vincendum.

The besieged offer to treat.

Sed Deus ipse propitius et misericors populo suo, parcens effusioni sanguinis, qui in assultu murorum verisimiliter effundi debuit, avertit nobis gladium et hostibus nostris terrorem incussit, qui verisimiliter confracti corde propter perditionem fortalitii prædicti, territi etiam de auditu assultûs tam subitò in-

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[1] A blank is left in the MSS. for the given name of the knight, but as I find him spoken of in the Privy Seal Writs of 3rd Hen. VI. as "Sire Raoul de Gaucourt Chevalier," I have ventured to fill up the blank. The title Dominus, as is well known, does not necessarily denote a baron.

[2] 'jactus' deest in MS. Sloane.

A.D. 1415. gerendi, necnon et de pœnis legis Deutronomii, si villa munita recuperetur ab eis resistentibus, anxiique de flagellis lapidum et penè desperantes de succursu[1] habendo à Gallicis, quem diu ultra promissum expectaverant, nocte illâ inierunt tractatum cum rege, ut si differre dignaretur assultum, et parceret plagis prementium lapidum, ei redderent villam, ac se et sua, si non citra horam primam post nonam diei Dominicæ sequentis, rex Gallicus, vel Dalphinus primogenitus ejus præmunitus obsidionem illam vi prælii solveret et liberaret eosdem.[2]

Their offer is accepted, and hostages taken.

18th Sept.

Et hâc gratiosâ oblatione admissâ, quæ tamen plurium cupiditati displicuit, sed non nisi illorum, qui post mortes et ictus præcedentium solùm subsequi proposuissent ad spolia, die sequenti, viz. Mercurii XVIIJ° dicti mensis Septembris, factis indenturis conventionum inter tractatores pro parte regis, ad præfatum se gerentem pro capitaneo et valentiores villæ, vallatis juramentis mutuis super corpore Dominico, quod venerabilis pater dominus Benedictus, episcopus Bangorensis à tentoriis regiis, præcedente

[1] MS. Sloane, 'recursu.'

[2] It appears to have been then an acknowledged article of war to grant a delay of eight days, in order to allow the besieged to inform their sovereign of their distress. (Sir F. Madden, Archæol. xxii. 357.) According to the Chronicle, Claud. A.viii., the captain of Harfleur, the Lord Gaucort, rode in all haste unto the Dauphin at Rouen; but Monstrelet states that Charles and the Dauphin were then at Vernon, and that the Lord Bacqueville was sent unto them, which was no doubt the case. Sir William Bouchier and Sir John Gray accompanied twelve burgesses from Harfleur "to beseech the king to withdraw his malice and destruction that he did unto them and to grant them the eight days respite." (MS. Cott. Claud. A. viii.) We learn from a note to Hardyng's Chronicle, that these knights were stationed before the barbican before-mentioned. A letter from Henry to the Mayor of London (preserved in the archives of the City) states that he had fully purposed to have assaulted Harfleur on Wednesday the 18th of September, which the citizens perceived, and that to avoid the effusion of blood he inclined to their offer. The letter is dated the 22nd of September, and announces the surrender of the town.

A. D. 1415.
18th Sept.

totâ capellâ regiâ processionaliter in cappis, jussu regio, usque sub muris, propter hoc detulerat, et datis XXIIIJ. obsidibus de nobilioribus et valentioribus inter eos, missoque uno milite pro parte villæ ex condicto ad ista nuntianda regi Gallico vel Dalphino, quieverunt offensiones hostiles hinc inde et furores bellici, usque in diem et horam limitatas.

Death of the Earl of Suffolk.

Et eodem die Mercurii obiit apud obsidionem illam, optimi et benignissimi nominis miles, dominus Michael Pool, comes Suffolchiæ, post se relinquens in campo hæredem juvenem tertii septennii, fortem, audacem, et agilem inter omnes curiales.[1] Et cùm nec præfatâ horâ sequentis diei Dominicæ, nec citra, Francorum Rex, Dalphinus, nec quivis alius ad solvendam obsidionem se obtulit, ascendebat statim rex noster solium suum regale stratum sub uno papilione vestibus aureis et carpasitis,[2] in cardine montis coram villâ, stipatus viris illustribus,

The town is surrendered. 22nd Sept.

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[1] He was slain at the field of Agincourt.

[2] There is some difficulty in ascertaining the meaning of this word, which is not to be found in any of the authorities. I suspect it is an error for *carbasitis*,—of fine flax or linen. In a drawing to Rous's MS. of the Deeds of the Earl of Warwick, (Cott. MS. Julius E. iv.) Henry is pourtrayed, before Rouen, in a surcoat ornamented with fleurs-de-lys. Elmham relates that from the king's surcoat, when at Agincourt, a celestial splendour issued on the one side from three golden flowers, planted in an azure field, &c.; and both that historian and Titus Livius, state that Henry's pavilion was of silk, that a way was made from the tent to the town lined with armed Englishmen, and that the venerable governor, Sir Lionel Braquemont, with many genuflexions, delivered up the keys. "And our king was in his tent with his lords and with his gentles, and sat in his estate as royal as did ever any king, and as it is said, there was never Christian king so royal, neither so lordly sat in his seat as did he." (Cott. MS. Cleop. c. iv.)

The surrender took place on St. Maurice's Day, Sunday, September 22, before the expiration of the eight days, in consequence of the return of the Lord de Bacqueville to Harfleur, who informed the citizens that the king's forces were not assembled. (Monstrelet.)

A.D. 1415. 22nd Sept.

proceribus suis et nobilibus, in multitudine et apparamentis cultioribus; tentâ à dextris suis super uno hastili per Gilbertum Humfrevillam militem suâ coronatâ galeâ triumphali. Venit de villâ ad præsentiam ejus præfatus dominus Radulphus de Gaucort, comitantibus eum his personis quæ priùs juraverant ad pacta servanda, et ei reddebat claves municipii seque simul et municipes gratiæ suæ.

Pardon is promised them.

Et receptis inde clavibus, mandato regio, per comitem Marescallum, rex promisit dicto domino Radulpho de Gaucort quia quamvis ipse et comitiva sua, contra Deum et omnem justitiam, villam suam ut suæ hæreditatis nobilem portionem detinuissent adversùs eum, tamen quia se submiserunt gratiæ, licet tardè, omninò sine gratiâ non transirent, quam nihilominus dixit se velle ex deliberato consilio moderare.

The prisoners are entertained at supper and then divided (amongst the lords).

Et tunc misit eum cum concomitatu suo atque obsidibus, qui præsentes adducti erant ad tentoria sua, numero omni LXVI, et eos in proximâ cœnâ, lautitiis quas habuit satis magnificè recreavit, dividens eos post cœnam et committens certis suis fidelibus conservandos. Sed citò post datas et redditas claves, appositis vexillis Sancti Georgii et regiis supra portas villæ, et depositis aliis adversariis, rex præfecit illustrem patruum suum dominum Thomam Beaufort, comitem Dorsetiæ, traditis clavibus in custodem et capitaneum villæ.[1] Et intravit in crastino cum

[1] The Earl of Dorset was brother to the Bishop of Winchester, then Chancellor, and subsequently Cardinal (Beaufort). The earl was created Duke of Exeter November 18th, 1416. His monument is preserved in St. Catherine's Chapel, Regent's Park. Sir John Fastolf was his lieutenant at Harfleur, being then only an esquire. He was retained the preceding June to serve with ten men-at-arms and thirty archers, and was knighted the 29th January following. He had the manors and demesnes of Fritense near Harfleur given him for his services. (Anstis, Register of the Order of the Garter, i. 137.)

secretioribus suis ad videndum oppidum ac populum, et contenta;[1] et separari fecit mulieres cum pauperibus, parvulis et infantibus, ab his qui sibi fidelitatem juraverant, et ab aliis qui servari videbantur in mancipia redimendi. Et die sequenti dimisit eos de villâ versùs interiores partes Franciæ quò vellent, qui erant numero circiter duo millia, quos in multis lamentationibus, desolatione, et lacrymis, propter amissum solitum, quàmvis injustum, habitaculum, conduci fecit vi armatâ extrà limites exercitûs, ne à prædonibus nostris qui plus spoliis quàm pietati indulgent, nec de lacrymis curant innocentium, dummodo rapinam habeant, molestarentur in viâ.[2] Et sic vero Dei judicio ibi probati sunt hospites, ubi se incolas reputabant.

A. D. 1415.
23rd Sept.
24th Sept.

Capitulum Nonum.

Et sequenti die Veneris, rex abire permisit præfatum dominum Radulphum de Gaucort cum pluribus de captivis villæ,[3] qui erant præter cives cir-

De Gaucourt and the prisoners are dismissed upon their covenants,

[1] St. Remy relates that when Henry came to the gates of Harfleur, he dismounted from his horse, took off his shoes and stockings, and went barefooted to the church of St. Martin's, where he solemnly gave God thanks for his success.

[2] More than 1500 women were refreshed at St. Aubin with bread, wine, and cheese. They were then escorted by the English to Lillebonne, and thence forwarded by the Marshal Bonciquault, by water, to Rouen. (Journal des Ursins.) The Monk of St. Denys speaks of Henry's humanity to these unfortunates.

[3] The greater part of these knights were sick, as Sir Ralph de Gaucourt informs us in his narrative, translated by Sir H. Nicolas. In the following December, Sir William Bourchier was allowed £1 6*s*. 8*d*. per day for the support of George de Clare and three barons, his companions, and thirteen knights, the king's prisoners, lately taken at Harfleur, then in his custody within the Tower of London. (Pell, Issue Rolls, Mich. Term, 3rd Hen. V.) Some of these prisoners were detained in England many years. In 1418, Master Peter Altabosse, physician, was paid £2 "for divers medicines purchased and provided for the cure of Lord de Touteville, (or d'Estouteville, late governor of

A. D. 1415. 27th Sept.

citer LX. milites, et plusquam ducenti alii generosi, penè tota nobilitas ab illâ parte Normanniæ, usque in marchias Picardiæ. Eâ verò intentione dimisit eos, ut si per ipsorum motiones et media posset pax ambita citiùs resarciri; sub indenturis tamen et pactionibus, stabilitis juramentis et aliis solemniis, quod revenirent et se redderent ut fideles captivi apud Calisiam, in festo Sancti Martini in hieme, ipsi domino regi, ejusve locum-tenenti vel specialiter deputato, appositis certis aliis conditionibus, quæ unà cum aliis conventionibus super redditione de Harfleu, quæ redigebantur ad scripta authentica in libro reperies recordorum.

Guyenne (herald) is sent to the Dauphin with a challenge.

Et rex noster, ut omnem viam exquireret et quæreret quæ respicere videbatur utriusque, propriæ scilicet et adversariæ gentis, salvationem, misit unum haraldum, nomine Gyan,[1] cum præfato domino Radulpho de Gaucort ad primogenitum adversarii sui Dalphinum, postponens mittere ad ipsum adversarium, quia solitâ invalitudine mente captum, ad intimandum sibi quod expectasset et adhuc expectaret apud villam suam de Harfleu, exinde per octo dies, invitans ab eo responsum infra illud tempus, ut si adhuc condoleret humano cruori, et sibi dimitti faceret jus suum absque ulteriori duritiâ et veniret ad

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Monstredevilliers,) the king's prisoner, for a long time detained with sickness in the castle of Moresande." (Idem. Easter Term, 6th Hen. V.) Sir Ralph de Gaucourt appears not to have been well treated by Henry. He exerted himself to procure the restoration of some of his crown-jewels and the seals, carried off at Agincourt, as well as of many English prisoners, and yet we find him only obtaining liberty to go to France to procure his ransom in the 3rd of Henry VI.: "Liberte a Raoul Sire de Gaucort chevalier de present esteant en nostre roiaume Dengleterre pur passer vers nostre roiaume de France pour purchaser sa finance ovec dys persones en sa compaignie. Westminster, 10th July." (Privy Seal Writs, Tower, 3rd Hen. VI.)

[1] "nomine Guyenne," (note to Hardyng's Chron.) the Guyenne Herald.

A.D. 1415.

pacem cum eo, vel saltem parcens multitudini, controversiam illam motam dudum, inde intermissam, et jam denuo resuscitatam sed indiscussam, super jure et dominio regni, datis securitatibus et conditionibus certis legalibus stabiliendis ex utriusque regnorum consilio, sine quâcunque aliâ sparsione fraterni sanguinis, inter seipsos, persona ad personam per duellum terminarent.[1] Sed lapsis inde octo diebus, et non reveniente dicto haraldo nec quovis internuntio alio, factâ interim ordinatione pro instauratione et custodiâ dictæ villæ, et impositis sub capitaneo certis baronibus et militibus industriis in re bellicâ, cum CCC lanceis et nongentis sagittariis stipendiariis, rex proposuit iter arripere, quod priùs disposuerat per ducatum suum Normanniæ, versùs villam suam Calisii, quæ abinde dicebatur distare plusquam centum milliaria Anglicana.[2]

The king prepares to set out on his journey to Calais.

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[1] See the challenge at length in the Foedera.

[2] Henry's proclamation to the inhabitants of London to come and inhabit Harfleur, dated 5th October, 1415, is preserved amongst the archives of the City of London.

It had been in like manner the policy of Henry's predecessors to give certain inducements to their subjects to reside at Calais. Witness the following proclamation of Richard II.:

"Richard au Chanceller." He allows the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Calais to buy "blees, fuailles, et autres vitailles pur les despenses de leurs houstelz propres, et auxi . . . . . . kord de latches pur l'edification et reparacion de leur mesons deniz n're dite ville, come drap pur la vesture de eux, leur femmes enfants et familie . . . . achatre si bien deniz n're roiaume Dengleterre come en n'resignourie illocques et ailleurs, et ycelles faire carier et amesner a n're dite ville ovec item franchement entrer en mesme ville quitz de custumes de tolluuz, &c." (Privy Seal Writs, State Paper Office, No. 8, Ric. II.) After the capture of Harfleur, Henry caused a mound which was outside the walls to be removed and made a fosse about it, for which work he paid Thomas Henlemsted, dyker, of Southwark, no less than £800. (Pell, Issue Rolls, 14th Dec., 4th Hen. V.) In the following spring he strengthened the garrison with the following reinforcement: Thomas Earl of Salisbury, with 6 men-at-arms and 100 archers; Sir John Pelham the younger, with 8 men-at-arms and 60 archers; Thomas Barnaby, treasurer, and Reginald Curtis, victualler. (Indentures of War, State Paper Office, 4th Hen.V.)

A.D. 1415.

He sends home the sick.

Sed quia fluxus sanguinis, qui tam de nobilibus nostris quàm aliis longè plures subtraxisset quàm gladius, ac multos de residuo populo tam dirè afflixit et impotentes reddidit, quod ulteriùs cum eo laborare non poterant, fecit eos separari à sanis, et licenciavit in Angliam remeare, qui erant numero circiter quinque millia,[1] præter hos quos mors consumpserat, et qui in custodiam villæ deputati erant, ac qui regem suum nimis humaniter relinquentes seu potiùs deserentes in campo, priùs furtivè in Angliam recessissent, sic quod[2] de residuo exercitûs non remanserunt educentes gladium seu ad pugnam apti, ultra nongentas lanceas et quinque millia sagittariorum.[3] Et quamvis pars maxima regalis consilii dissuaserant hujusmodi propositum, veluti plenum periculis si sic intermitteret paucitatem suam quotidie decrescentem, Gallorum multitudini crescenti continuè, qui ipsos velut oves in caulis verisimiliter concluderent ex omni parte, rex tamen noster divinæ innixus gratiæ et causæ suæ justitiæ, piè considerans quod non in multitudine consistit victoria sed apud eum cui non est impossibile concludere multos in manu paucorum, et qui cui vult sive in multis sive in paucis impartitur victoriam, præbente Deo ducatum, ut creditur, constituit iter illud, viam octo dierum. Et præcipiens exercitui se in victualibus instaurare pro octo dietis, die Martis pridie ante festum Sancti Dionysii in nonis Octobris[4] cum ipso tantillo exercitûs sui,

8th Oct.

[1] Amongst this number were the Duke of Clarence and the Earls of Arundel and March. (Walsingh.)

[2] MS. Sloane, 'Sed quia.'

[3] Other authorities slightly increase the number. For full particulars of the statements of contemporary writers on this subject, and, indeed, on every circumstance connected with the battle of Agincourt, the reader is referred to Sir H. Nicolas's Battle of Agincourt.

[4] Our author has here made an error of one day. The nones of October fell that year on Monday. It was the next day, Tuesday, the 8th of the ides of October, and the eight day of the month, that Henry set out for Calais. The feast of St. Denys was the following day.

A.D. 1415. 8th Oct.

disposito tamen satis humaniter in tribus aciebus, constans et intrepidus, iter incepit, linquens villam de Monstredevilliers, distantem circiter duo milliaria ab Harfleu, per dimidium milliare à dextris suis; præcipiens inter alia piissima et honestissima statuta, sub pœnâ mortis, ne quis incenderet, vastaret vel caperet præter solùm victualia et necessaria itineri, ac rebelles quos inveniret casu fortuitò repugnantes.[1] Et dum iter carpentes, venimus die sequenti, die Veneris, coram villa de Archiis,[2] quæ habuit fluvium dulcem descendentem ad portum de Diipe,[3] circiter tria milliaria à sinistris nostris in littore maris, ac etiam pontes angustes et castrum, infra[4] quorum districtum et offensionem transitus non erat. Rex monstravit se in aciebus et alis, et stationes fecit in aspectum castri; castellani verò nobis emiserunt lapides ex canellis suis ut nos arcerent remotiùs et prohiberent accessum; lapides tamen, Deo volente, nemini nocuerunt. Et post pusillum misit rex castellanis pro transitu libero, qui, mediantibus tractatibus et datis obsidibus, dederunt regi transitum liberum et certam quantitatem panis et vini pro recreatione exercitûs, in redemptionem incendii villæ eorum et partium vicinarum. Pertransivimus igitur districtum illum per mediam villam, cujus introitum invenimus grossis arboribus ex transverso itineris et offensionibus aliis communitam. Alterâ verò die venimus per villam de Iwe[5] muratam et fortem, eam linquentes per dimidium milliare ad partem sinistram, in quâ pars Gallicani exercitûs quæ se congregaverat adversum nos se receperat, quæ et irruptionem fecit in nostros, sed citò dabantur in fugam, villamque

11th Oct.

12th Oct.

The sally from Eu.

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[1] MS. Sloane, 'impugnantes.'
[2] "Villa de Arkes," note to Hardyng's Chron. Now Arques.
[3] Dieppe.
[4] MS. Sloane, 'intra.'
[5] The town of Eu, where the King of the French has hospitably entertained our Queen.

A. D. 1415. profugæ præsidio repetentes, non sine cæde et vulnere; sed et quidam de nostris non immunes ab ictubus recesserunt. Et nocte sequenti incolæ villæ, præhabito tractatu et datis obsidibus, villas vicinas in quibus pernoctavimus, in certâ quantitate panis et vini ad recreationem exercitûs ab incendio redimerunt.

Rumour of the (expected) battle.

Et interim pullulavit verbum in exercitu per quosdam captivos, quòd Gallorum multitudo se paraverunt ad confligendum nobiscum, et hoc asserebant quorundam opinio debere fieri die Dominico vel Lunæ sequenti, in transitu nostro ultrà aquam Summæ. Attamen de commissione prælii varia inter eos erat opinio; nam quidam asseruerunt constanter quod, consideratâ civili discordiâ et letali odio inter Gallorum principes et ducem Burgundiæ, nollent se Galli subtrahere ab interioribus partibus terræ et fortitudine eorum, ne, dum ipsi sic se subtraherent, manus hostilis ducis Burgundiæ vel eos insequeretur à tergo, vel contra ipsos in partibus eorum violentum dominium[1] usurparet. Quidam verò affirmabant contrarium, et quod tam nobilis olim fortitudo et militia Gallicana, si adhuc esset cor vel áliqua humanitas in eis, non possent tolerare tanti dedecoris maculam, quòd diceretur de eis per mundum ad sempiternum opprobrium, eos tam excordes et ignaves crevisse, et tantum degenerasse à nobilitate antiquâ quod in regem Angliæ venientem in terram eorum, diu moram facientem, villam obsidentem et capientem, et tandem cum tam paucâ familiâ et diminuto exercitu abinde in tam longâ distantiâ eorum patriam populantem, non auderent immo timerent vires extendere militares.

Various opinions on the subject.

[1] MS. Sloane, 'damnum.'

CAPITULUM DECIMUM.

A. D. 1415. 14th Oct. Their passage across the Somme is opposed.

Post hæc quidem die Dominico, in crastino[1] venimus prope villam de Abbevile ubi pertransire sperabamus die sequenti aquam Summæ, sed ecce subitò nunciatum est nobis per nostros exploratores et præcursores equites ruptos esse pontes cum calcetis et magnam partem Gallorum exercitûs ex oppositâ parte crepidinis in impedimentum transitûs nostri. Lora igitur vertimus per littus fluminis,[2] aliud non expectantes quàm quod omninò ire debuimus ad superiores partes Franciæ et ad caput fluminis, quod abinde dicebatur distare ultrà LX. milliaria, ubi dictum est Gallorum multitudinem se parare ad præliandum nobiscum in omni genere ordinationis et subtilitatis bellicæ, ac machinis et insidiis aliis exquisitis, nec[3] nos velle pati priùs quovis medio loco fluvium transilire. Tristes igitur de rumoribus prælii et dolentes de impedimento transitûs nostri, secessimus alterâ die usque ad alium meatum ultra flumen; sed et ibi confractis pontibus et calcetis,

It is again prevented.

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[1] Sir H. Nicolas appears to have mistranslated our author, and indeed the removal of a point alters the sense. Henry, ever attentive to the forms of religion, probably rested at least a part of the Sunday. Monstrelet states that he lodged on the Sunday at Bailleul-en-Vimeu, and it was on the Monday that the army approached Abbeville. This error of Sir Harris vitiates his itinerary for the three following days. The author of the prose note to Hardyng's Chronicle (which is for the most part copied from our text) has also made the same mistake; but he has made a still greater mistake in making Henry leave Harfleur on Tuesday the first of October. This note was evidently added some time after the Chronicle was written.

[2] Lefevre de St. Remy (who was present at Agincourt) states, that the ford where the English first attempted to cross the Somme was that of the Blanche Tache, (or white spot of sand,) where Edward III. had crossed with his army previous to the battle of Cressy. We learn from Titus Livius that the enemy had staked this ford.

[3] MS. Sloane, 'neque.'

A. D. 1415. 14th Oct.

se opposuerunt Galli ex alterâ parte in superbiâ magnâ[1], et disposuerunt se in aciem quasi modò parati essent ad confligendum nobiscum; veruntamen flumen illud habens ex utrâque parte latum mariscum, utriusque nostrum prohibebat accessum, sic quod nullus nostrum, etsi jurasset, potuit alteri damnum inferre.

The people are sorrowful.

Cùmque tunc aliud non cogitavimus, nisi quod completis octo dietis et consumptis victualibus nostris, hostilis calliditas præcurrens et pervastans patriam, esuriem nostram fame percuteret, et in capite dicti fluminis, si non Deus aliter provideret, cum eorum innumerabili multitudine, machinisque et insidiis possibilibus, nos paucissimos multâ fatigatione lassatos, et ex carentiâ victualium debiles premeret.

Supplications of the English.

Ego qui scribo et multi de residuo populo in cœlum amarè suspeximus ad superni respectûs clementiam, Virginemque gloriosam et beatum Georgium, sub quorum protectione viguit ab olím invictissima corona Angliæ, pro mediatione inter Deum et populum interpellavimus, ut desolationi totius Angliæ in pretio sanguinis nostri compateretur supremus judex cuncta prospiciens, et regem nostrum nosque populum suum qui non bellum sed pacem quæsivimus, de suâ immensâ misericordiâ eriperet de Gallorum gladiis, et ad sui nominis honorem et gloriam Calisiam rediret cum triumpho.[2] Iter inde absque spe aliâ arripuimus versùs caput fluminis, linquentes proximâ die civitatem Am-

15th Oct.

[1] This appears to have been the Pont de Remy, which was defended stoutly by the Lord de Vaucourt and others. Thence Henry pursued his march by Hangest-sur-Somme and Ponteaudemer to the vicinity of Amiens. (Monstrelet.)

[2] Our chronicler is corroborated by St. Remy. The English, *says he*, expecting battle on that Thursday, might be seen on their knees, with their clasped hands raised towards heaven, praying that God would take them into his protection.

A.D. 1415.

bianensem[1] ad partem sinistram circiter unam leucatam.

The army is refreshed near Boves. 16th Oct.

Et die sequenti venimus ad unum districtum habens villam ducis Burgundiæ, nomine Bowys, ac flumen, pontes et castrum, infra quorum offensiones hostiles erat transitus noster. Sed habito tractatu cum castellanis et datis per eos obsidibus, villam habuimus pro quiete nocturnâ bene refertam vino, ad magnam recreationem exercitûs, transitumque liberum ac panem de castro pro redemptione incendii oppidi et vinearum.

The sally from Corbie. 17th Oct.

Et cùm die Jovis venimus in campum juxta villam de Corby muratam, quæ erat à sinistris nostris, erupit ab eâ in nostris pars Gallicani exercitûs quæ etiam ibidem se congregaverat, sed citò cogebantur in fugam per nostros, cæsis quibusdam ex eis et captis duobus armatis.[2]

A freebooter hung for stealing the Lord's body.

Et adductus est regi in campo illo quidam prædo Anglicus, qui contra Deum et edictum regium pixidem de cupro deaurato, quam fortè credebat auream, in quâ erat reconditum corpus Dominicum, ab ecclesiâ delatam repertam in manicâ rapuisset; qui in proximâ villulâ ubi pernoctavimus, ex decreto regis vindicantis in creaturâ Creatoris injuriam, sicut in Zambro Phinees, latâ sententiâ, suspensus interiit.[3]

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[1] MS. Sloane, 'Ambuenensem' (Amiens).

[2] Elmham states that this conflict was very severe. One John Bromley of Bromley particularly distinguished himself, in recovering a standard which the French had beaten down and won and in killing the man-at-arms, for which service his captain, the Lord Bourchier, rewarded him with an annuity of 40*l.* per annum. (Holinshed.)

According to Monstrelet, after Henry left Corbie, he lodged successively at Herbomméres, Wauviller, and Bainviller.

[3] There was a specific ordinance against this crime. Henry knew how to enforce severe discipline: witness his ordinance with respect to women who should be found in the host, who were liable to have their arms broken. (Battle of Agincourt, App. p. 44.) At the village of Boves a store of wine was found, but Henry forbad any to be carried away. When

Capitulum Undecimum.

A.D. 1415.
17th Oct.
Ordinance made in expectation of an attack upon the archers.

Fama interim percrebuit per exercitum ex delatione quorundam captivorum, quod adversaria potestas ordinasset certos cohortes equitum per multas centenas in equis armatis, ad dirumpendam aciem et fortitudinem sagittariorum nostrorum, cùm nobiscum congrederentur in prælium. Indixit ergo rex per totum exercitum, ut quilibet sagittarius pararet et aptaret sibi unum palum vel baculum quadratum seu rotundum, sex pedum longitudinis et grossitudinis competentis, acutum in utroque fine, præcipiens ut quandocunque appropriaret Gallorum exercitus ad præliandum et frangendum stationes eorum per hujusmodi turmas equitum, unusquisque affigeret ante se à fronte palum suum, et alii alios posteriores palos intermedios, uno fine affixo in terram versùs eos, et alio in declivo versùs hostes ad altitudinem plusquam medii hominis à terrâ; ut cùm appropinquaret hujusmodi equitatum violentia, vel visis palis territi se subtraherent, vel propriæ salutis prodigi, tam equi quàm equites periclitarentur in palis.[1]

18th Oct.
The king orders some farm-houses to be set on fire.

Exinde progredientes hospitabamur die sequenti in villulis modicis prope villam de Neel muratam. Et rex misit villanis pro redemptione adjacentium

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it was urged upon him that the "petits compagnons" ought to be allowed to fill their bottles, he replied, He was not displeased with the bottles, but the greater part of them made bottles of their bellies, which grieved him. (St. Remy.)

[1] These stakes were provided "by the advice and counsel, as it is said, of the Duke of York." (Livius.) The duke, by his gallant conduct at Agincourt, made amends to the state for the serious mischief he had committed during the early part of his life, when Earl of Rutland. For a notice of his tergiversations, his treacherous conduct and character, see "Chronique de la trahison et mort de Richard II.," p. 257.

A.D. 1415. 19th Oct. at Nesle.

villularum ab incendio, sed indigenis renuentibus, commisit eas in crastino appositis ignibus consumendas. Et subitò, Deo volente, nunciatum est regi ibi prope unam leucatam esse transitum congruentem ultra flumen Summæ. Præmisit ergo rex præcursores equites tentandum transitum, profunditatem alvei et meatum fluminis, et citò cum exercitu sequebatur. Sed antequam attigit flumen illud pertransiit unum mariscum ferè per milliare a dicto flumine, per quod currebat unus rivulus descendens de prope in majorem fluvium, et sic conclusus erat quasi in angulo inter duo flumina, sed, Deo volente, hostibus improvisis. Cùmque ventum est ad fluvium Summæ reperta sunt duo loca per quæ flumen saliri potuit, et aquam vadorum nisi per modicum excedentem ventrem equi; ad quæ erat accessus per duo calceta longa sed stricta, quæ Gallorum astutia priùs fregisset per medium, sicquod vix cum difficultate perfracturas illas equitare potuit unus à fronte.[1] Et statim transmissis ultrà aquam dominis Johanne Cornewayle et Gilberto Humfrevylle militibus, cum suis penonibus ac certis lanceis et sagittariis peditibus, et concretâ statione pedestri pro custodiâ ascensûs residui populi, propter irruptionem Gallorum, rex fecit impleri[2] fracturas illas lignis, fasciculis et stramine usque tres sine difficultate à fronte poterant equitare; et statuit per unum dictorum calcetorum evectiones exercitûs transilire, et gentem suam belligeram per aliud, ubi seipsum statuit ex unâ

Of the regulations for the passage of the army across the Somme.

[1] These were the fords of Voyennes and Bethencourt. (Monstrelet and the following French Chronicle.) One entire day was consumed in repairing the causeways. The king caused several houses to be pulled down for the sake of their doors, shutters, and timber. (St. Remy.) In the Indentures of War of this period, preserved in the State Paper Office, it is stipulated that every twentieth archer should be either a mason or a bridge-carpenter (carpentier-arches).

[2] MS. Sloane, 'repleri.'

A.D. 1415.
19th Oct.

parte ad introitum, et certos quos voluit ex aliâ, ne glomerata et indisciplinata multitudo libidine transeundi seipsam comprimeret, et stricturam transitûs impedimentis mutuis suffocaret. Et statim per duo loca illa exercitus crevit ultra aquam valdè. Antequam tamen centum ex nostris fluvium transnatassent, ostenderunt se Gallicani equites et exierunt de villulis propè, infra unum, duo, et tria milliaria, ex parte illâ per turmas et cuneos, qui ad prohibitionem transitûs nostri per Francorum consilium ordinati fuerant, et se coadunantes, tardè tamen, ut Deus voluit, appropriarunt versùs nostros, præmittentes velociores equites ad explorandum fortè ut si adhuc videretur eos posse nobis dare repulsam. Sed cùm statim nostri præcursores equites eis dedissent obviàm, et nostra interim fortitudo multum crevisset ultra aquam in pulchrâ statione pedestri, antequam ipsorum segnitia vel incautela sic se coadunare poterat, et erat in augmento continuo, Gallici a longè stationem facientes et recensentes potentiam nostram ad perstandum, et eorum impotentiam ad resistendum, deseruerunt locum et evanuerunt ab oculis nostris.

The French make their appearance.

They disappear.

The time spent in the passage.

Incepimus vero transitum nostrum circiter primam horam post meridiem et fuimus per horam infra noctem antequam plenè pertransivimus. Lætam inde noctem duximus in proximis villulis, à quibus in primo accessu nostro ultra aquam Gallici exivissent, et nobis reputavimus ad gaudium magnum quod circiter octo dietas juxta numerationem multorum abreviavimus iter nostrum. In spe firmâque fuimus quod hostilis exercitus qui nos dicebatur expectare ad caput fluminis noluit nos subsequi ad bellandum. In crastino nihilominus, viz, die Dòminico, dux Aurelianensis et dux Burbonii de proxi-

20th Oct.

A.D. 1415.

miori parentelâ regali,[1] qui Gallicano exercitu præerant, nunciaverunt regi per tres haraldos quòd præliarentur cum eo antequam veniret Calesiam, sed diem vel locum minimè assignarunt.[2] Super quo rex noster benignè recipiens gratiam Dei, totus inhærens Dei auxilio et suæ causæ justitiæ, multum animosè et humaniter animavit exercitum suum, et se disposuit in crastino præliaturum. Quo crastino progrediens in itinere suo, neminem resistentem invenit. Et dum transivimus per villam de Peronne muratam, quam propè relinquimus à sinistris nostris, comperimus equites Gallicani exercitûs se offerentes de villâ versùs nostros, ut nos fortè ad infra jactus hostiles et nocumenta traxissent; sed oppugnantibus equitibus nostris citò terga verterunt, oppidum repetentes.

New rumours of a battle.

The king animates his army.

21st Oct.

The sally from Peronne.

Et postquam pertransivimus villam, quasi ad milliare, invenimus vias mirabiliter tritas per Gallicanum exercitum quasi nos in multis millibus præcessissent. Et tunc nos qui fuimus residuus populus, ut de potestatibus taceam, timentes prælium imminens, corda et oculos in cœlum levavimus, clamantes

The road cut up.

[1] The word "parentalis" appears to have the force of the French "parens," which includes uncles and other older relatives besides the father and mother. This leads to a conjecture of the French origin of the author of the Chronicle.

[2] There does not appear to be any foundation for the assertion of the Monk of St. Denys, Journal des Ursins, and Paradin (Annales de Burgogne), which has been repeated by Hume and Russell, that "Henry prudently offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur for a safe passage to Calais." Nor do these authorities agree as to the time when the offer was made. A passage by sea was open to him, and his nobles urged him to take it. No such offer is found in Henry's challenge to the Dauphin (Fœdera, ix. 313); nor do Elmham, Livius, or St. Remy report that, in his answer to the French heralds, Henry stated more than that he sought not the French, nor from fear of them should move slower or quicker, but he advised them not to interrupt his journey to Calais.

A.D. 1415. intimæ considerationis vocibus, ut compateretur nostri Deus, et à nobis de suâ ineffabili pietate Gallorum violentias declinaret.

Capitulum Duodecimum.

The army draws off towards the River of Swords.

Secessimus inde in itinere nostro versùs fluvium Gladiorum, linquentes de Mercurii sequente villam de . . . . . muratam[1] per unam leucatam ad latus sinistrum. Et cùm die proximâ, viz. Jovis, fuimus in descensu vallis versùs dictum fluvium Gladiorum,[2] nunciatum est regi per exploratores et præcursores equites, adversariam potentiam esse in multis millibus ex alterâ parte fluminis, quasi per unam leucatam à dextris nostris. Pertransivimus igitur flumen ociùs quò potuimus, et dum ex alterâ parte cardinem montis attigimus, vidimus emergere superiùs ex valle quasi per unum milliare à nobis tetros cuneos Gallicorum: qui tandem in agminibus aciebus et turmis incomparabili multitudine respectu nostri, stationem fecerunt velut ultrà dimidium milliare in adversum nobis, agrum replentes latissimum, sicuti in innumerabili multitudine locustarum, habentes vallem modicam inter nos et eos.

23rd Oct.

24th Oct.

The French army in sight.

The king animates his army.

Et interim rex noster multum civiliter et intrepidè animavit exercitum suum, et eos in aciebus et alis

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[1] Possibly the walled town of Doulens.

The king's route, after crossing the Somme, was by Monchy-la-Gache near Athies, Peronne, Doingt, and Miraumont, passing by Encre, to Forceville, where he lay on Tuesday night; thence by Lucheu to Bouviers-l'escaillon, where he lodged on the Wednesday; thence to Blangy and Maisoncelles. (Monstrelet and St. Remy.) During the march the army was sometimes separated into several villages, but they were not harassed by the French, who were gone forward to get ahead of them and stop their march to Calais.

[2] The River Ternoise.

A. D. 1415. 24th Oct. The people confess.

constituit, ut si statim congrederentur in prælium. Et tunc unusquisque qui non priùs conscientiam suam confessione mundaverat, arma penitentiæ sumpsit, et non erat tunc paucitas nisi solùm paucitas sacerdotum. Et inter cætera quæ tunc dicta notavi, quidam dominus Walterus Hungyrford miles impræcabatur ad faciem regis quod habuisset ad illam paucam familiam quam ibi habuit, decem millia de melioribus sagittariis Angliæ, qui secum desiderarent esse. Cui rex, "Stultè" inquit, "loqueris, quia per Deum cœli, cujus annixus sum gratiæ, et in quo est mihi spes firma victoriæ, nollem habere etsi possem plures per unum quàm habeo. Nam hic, quem habeo, Dei populus est, et quem me hâc vice dignatur habere. An non credis," ait, "Omnipotentem in hâc humili paucitate suâ vincere posse oppositam superbiam Gallicorum, qui se in multitudine et propriis viribus gloriantur?" quasi diceret, "potest ad libitum:" et non potuit, judicio meo, ex verâ justitiâ Dei, filio tam grandis confidentiæ infaustum quid accidere, sicuti nec Judæ Machabæo accidit usque in diffidentiam cecidit, et inde meritò in ruinam.

Noble saying of the king's.

Cùmque per pusillum stationes adversariæ vidissent et considerassent modum et paucitatem nostram, traxerunt se ad campum ultrà silvam quendam quæ erat prope ad sinistrum inter nos et eos, ubi erat iter nostrum versùs Calisiam. Et conjectans rex noster eos sic vel circuire silvam ut per illam viam venirent super eum vel alias per vicina remotiora nemora circuire, et nos circumcingere ex omni latere, removit statim agmina sua et ea semper constituit in adversum eis.[1]

The enemy's movements.

[1] Livius informs us that the king upon hearing from the Duke of York, who commanded the advanced guard, of the innumerable host of the enemy, commanded the middle ward to halt,

A. D. 1415. 24th Oct. The French encamp.

Et cùm demum post aliquantas moras ferè fuimus in occubitu solis, Gallici fortè non videntes bella ingerenda, sicut nec congruit erga noctem, ceperunt villulas et fructices propè proponentes quiescere usque manè. Et dum tandem fuimus in cardine lucis, et tenebræ intercepissent nos et ipsos, et adhuc in campo stetimus et audivimus adversariam hospitatam, et unumquemque, ut moris est, vociferantem pro socio, famulo et amico suo, in tantâ multitudine fortassis amoto; et nostri consimiliter incepissent facere, rex indixit silentium per totum exercitum, sub pœna amissionis equi et harnasii in generoso si delinqueret, et auris dextræ in valettum et inferiorem quemlibet, sine spe veniæ exequendâ, qui edictum regium præsumeret violare. Et statim declinavit silenter ad villulam ibi propè,[1] ubi habuimus domos sed paucissimas, hortosque et pomaria pro requiestione nostrâ et pluviam in abundantiam ferè per totam noctem.[2]

The English encamp,

Et dum adversarii nostri considerantes taciturnita-

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while he gave spurs to his horse and rode on to view them himself.

[1] Maisoncelles.

[2] It was a vassal and step-brother of Henry's, Arthur, Count de Richemont, brother of the Duke of Brittany, who made the first assault on the English army with 2500 Bretons and men of the Duke of Aquitaine. (Monstrelet.) This fiery assault, his first essay in arms, was made in a tempest of wind and rain at midnight on St. Crispin's Eve. Arthur was repulsed by the English (who formed behind the hedges) and was desperately wounded, and made prisoner in the battle the following day. Bitterly did he suffer for his advocacy of the French cause. Not even the prayers of the queen-dowager could procure his release from imprisonment during Henry's life, though he was once permitted to approach Henry in person, whilst he was at Melun in France in the ninth year of his reign, probably with a view of soliciting his release. We find him, however, still a prisoner in the following reign. (Pell, Issue Rolls, 9th May, 9 Hen. V., and 21st June, 1 Hen. VI.) The count's brother, the Duke of Brittany, had passed the Seine at Rouen, and was within two days' journey of Agincourt with a reinforcement of 12,000, or, according to Monstrelet, of 6000 men. (Le Baud, Hist. de Bretagne.)

tem et silentium nostrum, opinantes paucitatem nostram timore percussam et fugam fortè proposuisse de nocte, statuerunt ignes et vigilias fortes per campos et transitus. Et ut dicebatur tam securos se reputabant de nobis, quòd regem nostrum et nobiles suos nocte illâ sub jactu aleæ posuerunt.

A. D. 1415.

Precaution of the French to prevent our flight.

Et in crastino, viz. die Veneris in festo sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani, xxv°. die Octobris, Gallici, surgente aurorâ, se constituerunt in aciebus, turmis et cuneis, et stationes fecerunt coràm nobis in dicto campo nominato de Agincort, per quem erat transitus noster versùs Calesiam, in terrificâ multitudine valdè; statueruntque cohortes equitum in multis centenis ad utrumque latus aciei eorum anterioris, ad dirumpendam aciem et fortitudinem sagittariorum nostrorum. Et erat acies illa anterior acies pedestris ex omnibus nobilibus et electissimis eorum, quæ in silvâ lancearum et gravi multitudine interlucentium cassidum et equitum à lateribus, æstimativè erat tricesies plures quàm omnes nostri. Sed bellum eorum posterius ac alæ, turmæ et cunei, erant omnes in equis, quasi parati ad fugam potiùs quàm ad moram, qui erant respectu nostrorum quasi innumerabilis multitudo.

25th Oct. The French take up their position for battle.

Et dum interim rex noster disposuisset se ad campum, post Dei laudes et missas auditas,[1] non longè à requietione suâ, et constituisset sed omni

The English take their position.

[1] This appears to refer to the service in the Roman Catholic Church called Matins or Lauds, and to high mass afterwards. "Then the king, with a meek heart and a good spirit, lift up his hands to Almighty God, and besought him of his help and succour, and that day to save his true servants. . . . . . The morn arose, the day gan spring, and the king, by good avise, let array his battle and his wings, and charged every man to keep them whole together, and prayed them all to be of good cheer; and when they were ready he asked what time of the day it was, and they said, Prime. Then said our king, Now is good time, for all England prayeth for us, and therefore be of good cheer and let us go to our journée." (MS. Cott. Claud. A. viii.)

A.D. 1415. 25th Oct.

paucitate suâ bellum unum, ponens aciem suam anteriorem cui præerat dux Eboraci pro alâ à dextris, et aciem posteriorem cui præerat dominus de Camoys pro alâ à sinistris, et intermiscuisset cuneos sagittariorum suorum cuilibet aciei, et fecisset eos affigere palos coràm eis, ut priùs erat ordinatum propter irruptionem equitum. Hoc percipiens hostilis astutia per intervenientes præcursores, vel eâ occasione vel quâvis aliâ cautelâ nescio, Deus scit, tenuit se eminùs in oppositum nobis, nec appropiavit adversùs nos.

Of the delay in coming to an engagement,

Et cum in hujusmodi morâ multum diei consumpsissent, et stetisset uterque exercitus, nec in alterutrum pedem movisset, videns rex quod adversa multitudo aggressum distulit quem ab eis expectaverat, et sic nobis staret in adversum itineris, ut vel dirumperet ordinationem nostram, vel corda nostra eorum numero timore inficeret, aut quasi in impedimentum essent transitûs nostri, pluresve socios qui fortè erant in veniendo expectaret, vel saltem scientes penuriam victualium nostrorum nos fame vincerent quos ferro non auderent, rex noster se movere decrevit versùs eos, mittens pro evectionibus exercitûs ut essent ad dorsum prælii, ne essent in prædam hostibus, quas unà cum sacerdotibus celebraturis et sedulè deprecaturis pro se et suis in præfatâ villulâ et clausuris ubi erat de nocte priùs, expectasse statuerat usque in finem prælii, et ad quas tunc ferè ex omni latere prædones Gallici respexissent, proponentes eas invadere statim cùm vidissent utrorumque exercitum conflixisse, et in quarum caudam, in quâ ex desidiâ clientum regalium erant evectiones regiæ, sic statim, ut inceptum est prælium, ceciderunt; thesaurum regium pretiosum, mucronem et coronam inter cætera jocalia unà cum totâ supellectili deprædantes.[1]

and of the baggage in the rear.

[1] The guard of the baggage and of the sick consisted only of ten horse and twenty archers. (St. Rémy.) Amongst the valuables

A.D. 1415.

25th Oct. The king advances upon the enemy.

Sed tamen postquam rex putasset ferè omnes evectiones hujusmodi venisse ad dorsum suum, in nomine Jesu, cui flectitur omne genu cælestium, terrestrium et infernorum, Virginisque gloriosæ et sancti Georgii, appropiavit versùs hostes, appropiarunt et hostes adversùs eum.[1]

Reflections of the priests.

Sed et tunc quidem et quàmdiu duravit præliorum adversitas, ego qui scribo, insedens equum inter evectiones ad dorsum prælii et alii qui intererant sacerdotes humiliavimus animas nostras coràm Deo, et recordati . . . . quam eo tempore legebat ecclesia, diximus in cordibus nostris, "Memento nostri Domine! Congregati sunt inimici nostri et gloriantur in virtute suâ. Contere fortitudinem illorum et disperde illos, ut cognoscant quod non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis nisi tu, Deus noster!" Sub timore etiam et tremore ex oculis nostris in cælum clamavimus, ut compateretur nostri Deus et coronæ Anglicanæ, et ut orationes et lacrymas quas fudisset, et eâ horâ in suis processionibus solitis verisimiliter pro nobis fudit ecclesia Anglicana, perire non sineret, sed ad sinum admitteret suæ clementiæ, et illam inceptam devotionem regis nostri circà cultum divinum, ampliationem ecclesiæ et pacem regnorum non toleraret per inimicos supprimi, sed potiùs eam et in reliquum ex ostensâ

stolen were the seals of the King's Chancery. Many of the writs were afterwards sealed with "our signet of the eagle in the absence of our other signet." (Letters Missive, Tower of London.) Sir Ralph de Gaucourt went to France expressly to endeavour to recover the jewels, and he succeeded in recovering the seals.

[1] And then the king said with a high voice, "In the name of Almighty God and St. George, avaunt Banner, and St. George this day be thine help!" (Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii.) It is remarkable that the Black Prince used nearly the same words at the battles of Poitiers and Najara. The authority just cited, and also the MS. Cleop. c. iv., record Henry to have expressed his determination to die on the field rather than to put England to the charge of his ransom.

A.D. 1415. 25th Oct.

munificentiâ miserationis suæ magis exaltari faceret, ac ab his periculosis eventibus sicut ab aliis misericorditer liberaret.

Capitulum Tertium Decimum.

The battle is commenced by the archers.

Cùmque exinde prope offensiones hostiles ventum est, Gallorum equites ordinati à lateribus irruptiones fecerunt in sagittarios nostros ex utrâque parte exercitûs nostri: sed citò, Deo volente, in pluviis sagittarum retrocedere compelluntur et fugere ad acies posteriores, exceptis paucissimis qui inter sagittarios et nemora non sine cæde et vulnere percurrerunt; immo et exceptis quàmpluribus quos palorum affixio ac telorum acuties in fugâ tam in equis quàm equitibus ne longè fugerent arrestarunt.[1]

Withdrawal of the balistæ.

Balistæ verò adversariæ quæ erant de post dorsum armatorum et ex lateribus, post primum tractum, sed præproperum, in quo paucissimis nocuerunt, in arcuum nostrorum fortitudine recesserunt.[2]

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[1] The Monk of St. Denys states that it was between nine and ten o'clock of the morning when the Admiral of France, Sir Clignet de Brabant, and two other knights, with 10,000 of the *élite* of the French cavalry, were ordered to rout the English archers, who had already commenced the combat, and whose showers of arrows he compares to hail which darkened the face of heaven; that the avant-guard was composed of 5000 men, but that they were so closely packed they could scarcely use their swords.

[2] Livius refers to these balistæ, which threw large, middle-sized, and small stones. There is no good reason to suppose that cannon were employed by the English in this action, although Godefroy declares that the French cavalry were terrified by their discharge. (Hist. de M. de Boucicaut, ed. 1699.) St. Rémy (who was with the English in the action) states that the French used guns and serpentines.

The following document shews the wages of the French esquires at Agincourt:—

" Quittance de Guillaume Brandon, Ecuyer, à Mace Heron, tresorier des guerres au Duc de Bourbon. Pour neuf vingt quinze (195) livres tournois, ou cent quatre vingt cinq francs, sont pour le payement de chacun des

A. D. 1415. 25th Oct. The men-at-arms engage.

Et cùm accessum prope mutuum utrimque fècissent armati, latera utriusque aciei, nostræ, viz. et adversariæ se immergebant nemoribus quæ erant ad utrumque latus exercitûum. Sed Gallorum nobilitas quæ plenâ fronte priùs accesserat, ut de prope conjunctionem venerat, vel timore telorum, quorum adversitas eos reptabat per latera et umbracula cassidum, vel ut citiùs penetrarent nostram fortitudinem ad vexilla, diviserunt se in tres turmas, invadentes bellum nostrum in tribus locis ubi erant vexilla: et in primâ mixtione lancearum tam feroci impetu grassati sunt nostros, quòd eos ferè ad longitudinem lanceæ retrocedere compulerunt. Tunc vero qui ascripti fuimus clericali militiæ et aspeximus, procidimus in facies contemplationis nostræ ante thronum summæ clementiæ Dei, vociferantes in amaritudine spiritûs, ut etiam adhuc recordaretur nostri Deus et coronæ Angliæ, et de hâc fornace ferreâ et dirâ morte nobis intentatâ, ex suæ supremæ liberalitatis gratiâ liberaret. Sed et nec oblitus est Deus multitudinis precum et orationum Angliæ, in quibus, ut piè creditur, nostri citò resumpserunt vires, et fortiter resistentes repulerunt hostes usque solum perditum recuperaverunt. Et tunc bellum infervebat asperrimum, et sagittarii nostri transfixerunt et immiserunt telorum aculeos per latera, bellum continuè instaurantes. Et cum sagittæ consumptæ fuerant, arreptis securibus, palis, gladiis et lancearum interjacentium acuminibus hostes prostra-

The cries of the priests.

douze écuyers de Brandon." The receipt is dated in 1415, eight days before the battle of Agincourt, where Brandon was killed or taken prisoner. Each esquire was to have fifteen francs for the whole campaign,(which M. Leber estimates as equivalent to 300 francs of our money,) and they were to go to the Pays de Caux or elsewhere where the king should order them, under the command of the Duke of Bourbon. (MS. Leber, 5687, Rouen.)

A.D. 1415. 25th Oct.

runt, diremerunt, et confoderunt.[1] Nam potens et misericors Deus, qui semper est mirabilis in operibus suis, qui voluit facere misericordiam suam nobiscum, cui etiam placuit coronam Angliæ sub gratioso rege nostro, milite suo, ac paucitate illâ manere sicut ab olim invincibilem, citò ut sic conjunctæ sunt acies et inceptum est prælium, auxit nostris potentiam quam priùs debilitaverat et emarcuerat victualium penuria, subtraxit ab eis formidinem, et cor dedit impavidum. Nec unquam videbatur senioribus nostris Anglos magis audacter, intrepidè seu voluntariè, aggredi hostes suos. Et idem ipse justus judex qui percutere voluit superbam multitudinem hostium fulmine ultionis, abjecit eos à facie suâ, confregit eorum potentias, arcum, scutum, gladium et bellum. Nec unquam videbatur in anteà, de quo Chronica vel Historia recolit, tot electissimos et robustissimos milites tam segniter, tamque inordinatè et trepidè, seu tam inhumaniter restitisse.[2] Invasit enim eos timor

The enemy's loss.

[1] The Monk of St. Denys charges the English with using at Agincourt a new and unheard-of weapon: "Inusitatu etiam armorum genere usi, quisque eorum in parte maximâ clavam plumbeam gestabat, quæ capiti alicujus inflicta, mox illum precipitabat ad terram moribundum, vel a sensibus corporeis penitus destitutum." (Book xxxvi. ch. 8.) The account of our chronicler is more probable. Elmham remarks that our archers snatched the battle-axes from the hands of the French and prostrated them therewith. The soft state of the ground, into which, as the following French Chronicle informs us, the French men-at-arms, encumbered with their heavy armour, sunk, gave a great advantage to the light and agile archers. At those days, says Fabyan, the yeomen had their limbs at liberty, for their hosen were only fastened with one point, and their "jackes" were long and easy to shoot, so that they might draw bows of great strength, and shoot arrows of a (clòth?) yard long beside the head. The bow was then *par excellence* the national weapon, according to the old proverb,

"The fader to the boughe,
And the son to the ploughe."

The archers wore only leather caps, or caps made of osier with an iron cross on the top. (St. Rémy.)

[2] There does not appear to be any cause for these uncandid reflections. The Duke of Alençon performed prodigies of valour,

A.D. 1415. 25th Oct.

et tremor; nam fuerunt quidam ex eis, ut verbum erat in exercitu, etiam de nobilioribus eorum, qui se illo die plusquam decies reddiderunt. Sed nullus vacabat eos captivos recipere, sed ferè omnes sine discretione personarum, ut ad terram prostrati erant, vel à suis prostratoribus vel ab aliis insequentibus, nescitur quo occulto judicio Dei, sine intermissione dabantur in mortem. Percusserat enim eos Deus etiam aliâ insanabili plagâ. Nam cùm quidam eorum congressu prælii interfecti ceciderunt à fronte, tanta erat indisciplinata violentia et pressura posterioris multitudinis, quod vivi super mortuos caderent, et super vivos etiam alii cadentes interficiebantur: sicque in tribus locis ubi erat fortitudo et acies vexillorum nostrorum, tanta crevit congeries occisorum et interjacentium oppressorum, quod nostrates ascenderunt ipsas congeries, quæ creverant ultrà altitudinem longitudinis hominis, et adversarios versùs deorsum gladiis, securibus et offensionibus aliis, jugularunt.

Other of the enemy's disasters.

Et cùm demum post duas vel tres horas perforata et contrita erat vis illa anterior, et cæteri cogebantur in fugam, inceperunt nostri dispergere congeries illas, et separare vivos à mortuis, proponentes eos servare mancipia redimendos. Sed ecce statim, nescitur in quâ irâ Dei, clamor factus est, bellum equestre posterius hostium in incomparabili et recenti multitudine, stationem et aciem resarciri ad

The dead are spoiled.

The prisoners are put to death.

(see the following French Chronicle,) and the defeat of the French was owing, under God, to their over-confidence, to their want of archers, and to the utter impossibility of their large force of cavalry being brought to bear upon the compact body of English, defended by their stakes, and favoured by the soft nature of the ground. Neither is it credible that the loss on the part of the English was so small as our chronicler reports. Elmham and Livius make it one hundred; the French writers, from three to sixteen hundred. The Chancellor, upon the opening of Parliament, remarked that the victory was gained "sanz *grande* perte de les Engleis." (Rot. Parl. iv. 62.)

A.D. 1415. 25th Oct.

veniendum super paucitate et lassitudine nostrâ. Et captivi, non attentâ differentiâ personarum, exceptis ducibus Aurelianensi et Burbonii et cæteris aliis illustribus qui erant in acie regiâ, et paucissimis aliis, vel suorum captivorum vel aliorum subsequentium, gladiis, ne nobis in ruinam essent in venienti prælio, ceciderunt.[1]

The enemy flees.

Sed post pusillum adversariæ stationes, Deo volente, gustatâ telorum amaritudine, et rege nostro appropriante adversùs eos, nobis agrum sanguinis cum quadrigis et vectuariis aliis multis refertis victualibus, ac telis, lanceis et arcubus, reliquerunt.[2]

Lamentations over the dead, who were spoiled.

Et cùm sic, Deo jubente, dissipata esset fortitudo gentium et finita durities belli, redivimus potiti victoriâ per greges, aggeres[3] et congeries occisorum, vidimus quidem et inspeximus, sed non sine multorum dolore et lacrymis, quod tot insignes et valentissimi milites, si fuisset Deus cum eis, taliter super nos penitùs invitos quæsivissent mortes proprias, ac sic delevissent et solvissent inaniter incolatûs proprii gloriam et honorem. Et si visus ille fuit compunctionis et pietatis nobis externis prætereuntibus, quanto magis ploratûs et ululatûs gentibus indigenis, expectantibus et videntibus taliter absumptam et exarmatam militiam regionis! Et verè credo, non est cor carneum sed nec saxeum, si vidisset et considerasset tot Christianorum diras mortes et amara vulnera, quin se solvisset et resolvisset in lacrymas

[1] Compare the reason for this lamentable slaughter given by the succeeding French chronicler.

[2] The bolt shot from the cross-bow was about one foot in length. The cross-bowmen enjoyed important privileges on the Continent. In 1432, John, eldest son of the King of France, Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou and Maine, issued letters-patent, by which "les cinquante Arbalestriers de la ville de Rouen furent francs et quietes de toutes tailles, subsides, et imposicions." (Archives de la Ville de Rouen.)

[3] The words 'dissipata est fortitudo' to 'aggeres' are wanting in the Sloane MSS.

præ dolore. Non habuerunt quidem quantumcunque illustres vel spectabiles in regressu nostro dispoliatos priùs per prædones Anglicos plus, præter in celandis naturæ tantùm, quàm eis in primâ luce natura texuerat tegumentum.

A. D. 1415.

Capitulum Quartum Decimum.

A prayer for the French nation.

Utinam citò gentes illæ Francorum ad pacem et unitatem cum Anglis veniant, ac ab injustitiis et viis suis pessimis, quibus abductæ et involutæ dicuntur, resileant, ne improperetur eis illud prophetæ, "Deus judex justus, fortis, et patiens, nunquid irascitur per singulos dies? Nisi conversi fueritis, gladium suum vibrabit, arcum suum tetendit et paravit illum, et in eo paravit vasa mortis." Et nisi citiùs resipiscant, sentiant illud quod sequitur. "Ecce parturit injustitiam, concepit dolorem, et peperit iniquitatem, lacum aperuit et effodit eum et incidit in foveam quam fecit. Convertetur dolor ejus in caput ejus et in verticem ipsius iniquitas ejus descendet; Deus enim misericors est et longanimis expectator, sed cùm consumpserit misericordiæ et longanimitatis remedia, severus est ultor, subtrahitque potentias virorum fortium multoties quas justitia non comitatur." Claret hoc in multitudine hostium nostrorum quos indifferenter omnes per paucitatem nostram agonizantem pro justitiâ, vel fugæ, captioni vel gladio mancipavit.

Of the number of both parties, and of the killed on the part of the enemy.

Erant enim ex eis juxtà propriam numerationem eorum plusquam LX. millia educentium gladium, ubi nostra paucitas sex millia virorum pugnantium non excessit. Ex quâ multitudine occubuerunt duces Barensis, Brabantiæ, et de Alanconio, comites quinque, barones et vexilla-levantes ultrà nonaginta, quorum nomina describuntur in codice recordorum,

A.D. 1415. 25th Oct.

ac plusquam mille quingenti milites juxtà propriam supputationem eorum, et inter quatuor et quinque millia nobilium aliorum, penè tota nobilitas militiæ Gallicanæ.

The number of the prisoners.

Et capti sunt ex residuo numero duces Aurelianensis et Bourbonii, comites Richemundiæ, de Vendusme, et de Iwe,[1] necnon valentissimus miles dominus Bucicaldus marescallus Franciæ, sed pauci alii generosi.[2] Sed et facta est lætitia magna in populo nostro et miraculum grande, quià ex totâ paucitate nostrâ non reperiebantur cæsæ in campo ultrà novem vel decem personæ, præter illustrem et sapientissimum principem dominum Edwardem ducem Eboraci, et dominum Michaelem comitem Suffolciæ, juvenem strenuum, et duos noviter insignitos milites, qui in acie prælii ceciderunt.[3] Dux verò

Rejoicings for the preservation of the English, and the number of their slain.

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[1] d'Eu.

[2] Such was the number of prisoners that Charles VI. remitted the customary feudal fines for more than a year, in order to enable the vassals the better to ransom their lords. (Monk of St. Denys, b. xxxvi. c. 40.) Charles Duke of Orleans, who had married Isabel, ex-queen of England, was taken prisoner by Richard Waller, Esq., of Gromebridge in Kent, and was confined first at Windsor Castle, and afterwards at Wingfield, Bolingbroke, Knaresborough, Pontefract, and the Tower of London. (Pell Issue Rolls.) His long captivity did not terminate until 1440, when he paid 100,000 nobles for his ransom. His life has been well depicted by M. Aimé Champollion Figeac. The following unpublished document shews the chivalric turn of his mind:—

"Ordonnance de Charles d'Orleans, 10 Oct[re] 1414 à payer 276 livres 7 sous 6 derniers tournois pour prix de 960 perles destinees à lornement dune robe, sur les manches est escript de broderie tout au long le dit de la chanson 'Madame, Je suis plus joyeulx.' 568 perles pour les notes, 142 notes, pour chaque note 4 perles en quarre." (MS. Leber, 5685, Rouen.)

The Duke of Bourbon was confined at Porchester, Somerton, Pontefract, and perhaps at some other castles, (Pell Rolls,) and both he and the Marshal Boucicault died in captivity, being unable to obtain their ransom. Sir John Grey (afterwards the Earl of Tancarville) sold his prisoner, the Count d'Eu, to Henry. (Idem 4th January, 3rd Hen. V.) The sums exacted for the ransom of these princes were exorbitant. That paid for John Duke of Alençon, taken prisoner at the battle of Verneuil in 1424, was 40,000 marks.

[3] Possibly David Gamme and his brother, who were mortally

noster Gloucestriæ Humfridus, frater regis junior, strenuus princeps, consimiliter ut dedit, partem recepit; vulnerabatur graviter in acie regis, et non mirum, inter tot violentiores vibratos mucrones, lanceas et secures: citò tamen post adventum suum Calesiam convaluit, Deo laudes! Habet igitur Anglia nostra unde gaudeat, unde et doleat; unde gaudeat de potitâ victoriâ et salvatione suorum; unde et doleat de compassione et ruinâ in mortibus Christianorum. Et absit quod gens nostra propriæ gloriæ seu fortitudini triumphum ascribat, sed soli Deo à quo est omnis victoria, ne irascatur Dominus ingratitudini nostræ, et à nobis avertat, quod absit, victricem manum suam. Studeatque Anglia nostra Deo sine intermissione placere, à se hæreses, et errores cum aliis seditionibus et injustitiis extirpare, in hymnis, confessione et canticis peramplius et perfectiùs quàm priùs confiteri et psallere Domino, quia mirabilia fecit in Israel et dedit victoriam Christo suo; fundatque preces, orationes et lacrymas ante conspectum summæ clementiæ Dei, ut victoriosissimum regem nostrum ejusque desiderium et devotionem ad ampliationem ecclesiæ et pacem regnorum per diuturna tempora suæ omnipotentiæ clypeo nobis custodiat, protegat, visitet et defendat. Cantemusque simul illud carmen quod omni anno canit ecclesia; "Tua est potentia, tuum regnum, Domine, tu es super omnes gentes. Da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris."

A.D. 1415.

Cause for joy and grief.

Cùmque præfatus rex noster post finitum prælium pernoctasset in eodem loco, ex humanitate,[1]

The king marches to Calais.

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wounded in defending the person of their sovereign, and whom he is said to have knighted on the field; or perhaps two of the knights created a few days before. (See Batt. of Agincourt, p. 102, 3rd Ed.)

[1] 'ex humanitate et maximâ audaciâ.' (Note to Hardyng's Chronicle.)

A. D. 1415. 26th Oct. ubi requievit nocte præcedenti, in crastino iter arripuit versùs Calesiam per aggerem illum pietatis et sanguinis ubi cecidit vis Francorum. Et die Martis, 29th Oct. in crastino sanctorum Simonis et Judæ, Calesiam veniebat;[1] et die Sabbati post sancti Martini solennia, cùm venisset præfatus dominus Radulphus de Gaucort et alii captivi de Harfleu, proùt debuerant 16th Nov. ex condicto, per portum Dovoriæ cum suis captivis remeavit in Angliam.

The character of his deeds. Et nec recolit serenitas nostra quod unquàm princeps aliquis magis laboriosè, strenuiùs vel humaniùs populum suum regebat per viam, seu qui manu propriâ se viriliùs gerebat in campo; immo nec reperitur in chronicis vel annalibus regum de quo antiquitas nostra meminit, quod unquam rex aliquis Angliæ tot expedivit in tam brevi tempore,[2] et cum tanto et tam glorioso triumpho ad propria remigravit. Soli Deo honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum! Amen.

Capitulum Quintum Decimum.

Et ut subsequentia præcedentibus annectamus, potitâ unius diei quietudine in portu prædicto, iter Of his reception at London. arripuit per sacrosancta limina ecclesiarum metropolis

[1] The prose note to Hardyng's Chronicle adds, "Cum magno gaudio populi et lætitiâ, ubi laudes soli Deo pro victoriâ faciens decantari cum maximâ devotione, litera F, tunc dies Dominica, A. D. 1415." The hungry and weary archers were but badly used; the Earl of Warwick, governor of Calais, having shut the gates against them, being afraid lest so many starving people might consume his stock of provisions. They were glad to barter their booty, on any terms, for bread. When the king heard in what distress his men were, he, with great diligence, procured a sufficient number of boats to carry them to Sandwich and Dover. (St. Rémy.)

[2] "In fifteen weeks, forsooth,
he wrought all this,
Conquer'd Harfleur and
Agincourt."
(Lydgate.)

A. D. 1415.
23rd Nov.

et sancti Augustini Cantuariensis[1] ad manerium suum de Eltham, proponens sequenti die Sabbati urbem suam Londoniæ suâ corporali præsentiâ honorare. Cives verò, auditis avidissimis immo jocundissimis rumoribus de ejus adventu, se et civitatem paraverunt interim, in quantum permisit temporis possibilitas, pro receptione amantissimi et desideratissimi principis, quem Deus sic magnificè et miraculosè de suâ clementiâ à rebelli et indomabili populo, cum triumpho ad propria reduxisset. Et cum illuxisset dictus desideratus dies Sabbati, cives exierunt in obviàm regis usque promontorium de Blakeheth, maior viz[t]. et XXIIIJ seniores in scarleto, et cæteri de inferioribus civibus rubeis indumentis cum capuciis bipartitis de rubeo et albo, in circiter XX millibus equorum. Qui omnes, juxta eorum artificia certas habuerunt divisas (*sic*) cultiores, quæ unumquodque artificium notabiliter ab alio distinguebant. Et cùm circa horam decimam diei rex per medium illorum venisset, et cives Deo dedissent gloriam et honorem, ac regi congratulationes, et gratias de apportatâ victoriâ et laboribus publicis, præcurrerunt cives versùs urbem, et sequebatur rex, propriâ sed modicâ clientelâ.[2]

The pageant.

Et ut de laude et ornatu civitatis inter tot cives nobiles aliquid gestis magnificis calamus interponat, cùm ventum est ad turrim in introitu pontis, quasi ad introitum in potentias civitatis, sita est superiùs in culmine turris statua miræ magnitudinis gigantea, quæ respiciens in faciem regis ferebat, velut duellio, securim magnam in dexterâ, sinistrâ verò claves

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[1] "and offered at St. Thomas' shrine." (MS. Cott. Claud. A. viii.)

[2] "Graunt-merci, Sires," was the king's reply to the mayor and aldermen. (Lydgate.) This expression was often contracted to "Gramerci," retaining still the same signification, "much obliged to you."

A.D. 1415. 23rd Nov.

civitatis in baculo pendentes, ut janitor. In cujus dextro latere stetit effigies non multùm minoris magnitudinis, muliebris, chlamide coccineâ et fœminalibus ornamentis induta, quasi vir et uxor qui in apparatibus cultioribus domini sui faciem desideratam viderent et reciperent plenâ laude. Ornabant verò turrim circâ eos hastilia armorum regalium eminentia in propugnaculis, tubæque litui et buccinæ perstrepentes in multiplici melodiâ, et habuit à fronte hanc elegantem et convenientem scripturam impressam parieti;

CIVITAS REGIS JUSTITIÆ!

Et progresso ulteriùs usque ad pontem tantillùm, inventa est ex utroque latere ante eam una columna procera ad modum turriculi, non minùs subtilis quam elegantis structuræ opere lignario, quæ cooperiebatur panno lineo depicto colore albo marmoreo et viridi jasperino quasi ex quadratis et sectis lapidibus opere lithotomorum. Summitas verò columnæ in dextro latere effigiem antilupi erectam habuit cum clypeo resplendentium armorum regalium pendentium à collo, quæ in dextro pede extenso sceptrum regium deferebat. Cacumine verò alterius columnæ leonis imaginem etiam erectam extulit, quæ hastile cum expanso vexillo regio dextris unguibus tenuit elevatum:[1] desuper verò pedem pontis in transversum

[1] We may presume that the lion and the antelope were the supporters of the royal arms. Henry appears to have borne on his standard (in addition to the arms of England and France quarterly) an antelope and a swan, the latter being derived from his grandmother the Countess of Hereford. (See Excerpta Historica, pp. 53 and 54.) Elmham calls the bearings on Henry's surcoat 'leopardi;' and although leopardus sometimes signifies a lion, yet the leopard does appear to have been regarded as one of the bearings of England. The feet of Sir William Lodyngton, one of the justices of Henry's Common Bench, repose on a leopard. (Monumental Brass, Gunby, Lincolnshire.) When Margaret, sister of Edward IV., was presented to the Count of

itineris elevabatur turris operis et picturæ ad instar dictarum columnarum, in cujus medio sub uno tabernaculo splendido stetit imago formosissima sancti Georgii, armata, excepto capite, quod ornabat laurea conserta gemmis interlucentibus ad instar lapidum pretiosorum, habens de post dorsum tapetum coccineum cum armis suis rutilantem in scutorum multitudine. Et in dextrâ suâ pendebat galea sua triumphalis, et in sinistrâ clipeus armorum suorum magnitudinis congruentis; dexterâ suâ manu capulum mucronis quo cingebatur tenebat, læva verò rotulum extensum per propugnacula, continentem hæc verba; "*Soli Deo honor et gloria!*" Et signabat turrim in fronte hoc congratulationis propheticum;

"FLUMINIS IMPETUS LÆTIFICAT CIVITATEM DEI,"

venustabantque eam supra hastæ expansorum armorum regalium in celaturis et propugnaculis prominentes. Et in domo contiguâ de post turrim erant innumerosi pueri repræsentantes hierarchiam angelicam, vestiti candido, vultubus rutilantibus auro, alis interlucentibus et crinibus virgineis consertis laureolis pretiosis, qui concinebant in adventu regio suavi vocis modulatione et organis, literam prosequentes,[1] hanc Anglicanam[2] cantilenam;[3] . . . . . .

Flanders at Bruges in 1468, the herald thus addressed him:—'Tres excellent Prince, le fier et redouté liepard d'Angleterre . . . . vous fait présent d'une noble Marguerite' (Olivier de la Marche); and the eighth pageant on this occasion was a maiden sitting between a lion and a leopard, bearing the arms of Burgundy; above the maiden's head was a great fleur-de-lys, and without was written, 'Leo et pardus in gremio flosculi se amplexi sunt sub lilio.' (Excerpt. Hist. p. 233.) So also Creton, "En ce faisant le roy, qui les liepars porte en blazon." (Archæol. vol. xx.)

[1] "literam prosequentes;" this phrase, which has been so erroneously translated in the Battle of Agincourt, is evidently nothing more than "according to the programme."

[2] MS. Sloane, 'angelicam.'

[3] "Ave Rex Anglorum," so Lydgate. It is to be regretted that our chronicler has not given us the hymns referred to.

A.D. 1415.
23rd Nov.
Of the decking out the conduit in Cornhylle.

Cùmque ultra ventum est ad turrim aquæductûs in Cornehille reperiebatur turris illa velata desuper panno coccineo protenso ad instar tentorii, super hastilibus celatis eodem panno. Circuibant medium turris inferiùs arma sanctorum Georgii, Edwardi, Edmundi et Angliæ, in quatuor locis eminentioribus, cum intermediis scutulis armorum regalium, quibus interserebatur hæc piæ considerationis[1] scriptura, "*Quoniam Rex sperat in Domino et in misericordiâ Altissimi non commovebitur.*" Superiùs verò in propugnaculis arma lineæ regalis ad decorem in hastilibus prominebant. Sub velamento quidem erat venerandæ canitiei cuneus prophetarum in tuniculis et chlamydibus aureis, celatis et volutis capitibus in auro et cocco, qui emiserunt cùm rex per eos venerat, passeres et alios minutos volucres in multitudine copiosâ ad sacrificium Deo gratum de datâ victoriâ, quorum quidam descenderunt in pectus regium, quidam quiescebant in humeris ejus, et quidam in circuitu volitabant. Canebantque prophetæ dulci modulamine, literam prosequentes, hanc recognitionis psalmodiam; "*Cantate Domino canticum novum, Alleluia! Quia mirabilia fecit, Alleluia! Salvavit, &c.*"

Of the conduit at the entrance of Cheep.

Inde progressum est ad turrim aquæductûs in introitu stratæ de Cheep,[2] quæ celamento viridi intersertis et intextis scutulis armorum urbis in floridâ multitudine super postes vestitos eodem colore in modum ædificii desuper tendebatur. Ornabant verò turrim superiùs in propugnaculis hastilia armorum, ut in locis aliis prominentia, et medium ejus in circuitu. . . . . .

Et de subtùs velamentum erant viri venerandæ senectutis in vestitu et numero apostolico, habentes

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[1] MS. Sloane, 'recordationis.' | [2] MS. Sloane, 'Chepe.'

nomina xij apostolorum scripta in frontibus suis, una cum xij regibus, martyribus et confessoribus de successione Angliæ, cinctis lumbos zonis aureis, cum sceptris in manibus et coronis in capite, expressis signis sanctitatis, qui psallebant unanimiter in adventu regis dulci modulo, literam prosequentes,[1] . . . . Et emiserunt ei argenti folia rotunda intermixtis panibus ejusdem tenuitatis et rotundatis, ac vinum ex canellis et fistulis aquæductûs, ut consimiliter in pane et vino eum reciperent, sicut Melchisedech Abraham à cæde quatuor regum cum victoriâ revertentem.

A.D. 1415. 23d Nov.

Of the cross in the middle of Cheepe.

Progresso quidem ulteriùs ad crucem de Cheepe, crux non apparuit, sed quasi castrum pulcherrimum circa eam, quod opere lignario, non minùs ingeniosè quàm ornatissimè constructum, ornabant tres formosæ columnæ, quæ et propugnacula in multitudine cultiori habens ex utrâque parte arcus testudinatos bonæ altitudinis ad lanceam et dimidiam penè, quarum utriusque una extremitas satis artificiosè requievit in castro, et alia protensa ultra stratam, emergebat se in vicina ædificia quasi connasceretur ex eis, sub quibus in satis amplo spatio ad latitudinem unius longitudinis lanceæ populus velut per duas januas equitabat. Et erat scriptum in frontibus januarum ex utrâque parte;

"GLORIOSA DICTA SUNT DE TE, CIVITAS DEI."

Cœlatura verò ejus in operimento lineo et picturâ quasi colorum albi marmorei, viridisque et coccinei jasperini, ac si totum opus factum fuisset arte cementariâ ex quadratis et perpolitis lapidibus pretiosis. Ornabant summitatem castri et turrim celsiorem arma sancti Georgii, et ex unâ parte arma regis, et ex aliâ arma imperatoris[2] in hastis

[1] "Benedic anima Domino." Psalm ciii. (Lydgate.)

[2] The arms of Richard the Second's first wife, "the good

A. D. 1415. 23d Nov.

prominentia, et turriculas inferiores arma lineæ regalis et procerum regni majorum. Ex medio verò castri versùs regem eminebat porta pulcherrima, et non minùs ingeniosè constructa, de quâ protensus est pons ligneus quasi quindecim stadiorum, bonæ latitudinis, et altitudinis à terrâ ad cingulum hominis, pro aspectu, celata et compta[1] tapetiis in postilibus et clausuris ex utroque latere, satis ornatè et securè pro vitandis incursibus hominum. Super quem pontem exivit de castro in occursum regis chorus pulcherrimarum puellarum virginum vestitu candido et cultu virgineo limpidissimè ornatarum, concinentium in tympano et tripudio, velut alteri David de cæde Goliathe, qui in Gallorum superbiâ congruè designari poterit, venienti, hoc congratulationis canticum, literam prosequentes;

WELCOME HENRY THE FIFTE, KYNGE OF ENGLOND AND OF FRAUNCE!

Ab altitudine verò castri usque deorsùm, in turribus, propugnaculis, arcubus et columnis, erant pueri innumerosi, quasi archangelica et angelica multitudo cælesti nitore decori, vestitu candido, pennis lucentibus, virgineis crinibus consertis in gemmis, et alio resplendenti et elegantissimo apparatu, qui emiserunt in caput regis subgredientis minas[2] aureas cum frondibus lauri, ad honorem omnipotentis Dei et signum victoriæ, in dulci vocis modulatione et organis unanimiter concinentes hunc hymnum angelicum, literam procedentes, "Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur."

Of the conduit at the end of Cheepe.

Et vento ultra ad turrim aquæductûs in exitu de Cheepe versùs sanctum Paulum, circumduce-

Queen Anne," daughter of the King of Bohemia.

[1] MS. Sloane, 'cooperta.'

[2] Margin, 'id est talenta.' Lydgate calls them 'obles;' probably small pieces of money.

A.D. 1415. 23d Nov.

bant turrim illam circa medium multa artificiosa tabernacula, et in quolibet tabernaculo una elegantissima puella virgo, ad modum imaginis, ornamentis pudicitiæ cultioribus decorata, quæ omnes lauriatæ succinctæ, zonis aureis, cum calicibus ex auro in manibus, efflaverunt ex eis flatu levissimo vix perceptibili auri folia rotunda in caput regis cùm progrederetur per eas. Velabatur verò turris superiùs canopeo cælestini coloris intextis nubibus et multùm artificiosè congestis; cujus summitatem decorabat imago Archangeli quasi in auro lucidissimo, intermissis aliis[1] apparentioribus coloribus resplendentis; et quatuor postes super quibus canopeum vehebatur quatuor Angeli non minoris artificii supportabant. Et de sub canopeo in throno quædam effigies majestatis in corpore solari, et emissis fulgentibus radiis ultra omnia rutilabat. In cujus circuitu cælesti nitore coruscarunt Archangeli, psallentes dulciter in omni genere musicorum, literam prosequentes,[2] . . . . Et ornabant propugnacula turris . . . . prominentia in postilibus. Et ut turris illa in scripturâ suâ concludere videretur conformiter laudibus scripturarum præcedentibus ad honorem et gloriam Dei, non hominum, efferebat ad aspectum transeuntium hanc conclusionem laudis,

23d Nov.

DEO GRATIAS!

Et præter pressuras in statione hominum, et con-

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[1] MS. Sloane, 'alis.'

[2] Sir H. Nicolas has given in his Battle of Agincourt (Appendix, No. XVIII.) one of the songs supposed to have been sung on this occasion. Lydgate states that the virgins placed in the pavilions greeted the king with the accustomed welcome, Nowell! Nowell! Henry was in like manner greeted with this acclamation after the capture of Rouen. (Archæol. xxii. 383.)

A.D. 1415.
23d Nov.
Of the pressure and thronging of the people.

currentium per plateas, ac multitudinem promiscui sexûs aspicientium ex fenestris et foraminibus, quantumcunque modicis, per viam à ponte, tanta erat compressio populorum in Cheepe ab uno fine usque in alium, quòd vix equites, sed non sine difficultate eos percurrere potuerunt; solariique[1] et fenestræ ex utroque latere referti de nobilioribus dominabus et mulieribus regni, ac viris honestis et honoratis, qui ad visum delectabilem confluebant, tam decentissimè et ornatissimè in vestibus aureis, bysso, et cocco, et alio cultu vario venustabantur; quod non recolebatur de anteà unquam in Londonio major confluentia seu nobilior apparatus.[2]

Of the progress of the king and the captives with him.

Sed et rex ipse, inter hæc laudum præconia et apparamenta civium, indutus veste purpureâ, non in elato supercilio, equitatu pompatili seu multitudine gravi, sed in vultu solido, incessu venerando et paucis concomitantibus domesticis fidelissimis incedebat; sequentibus eum, in securitate militum, dictis ducibus, comitibus et marescallo, captivis. Ex ipsâ quidem vultûs taciturnitate, mansueto incessu et progressu[3] sobrio colligi poterat quod rex tacitè rem gerens in pectore, soli Deo, non homini, grates et gloriam referebat. Et cùm inde visitasset limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli[4] declinavit ad palatium suum Westmonasterii, civibus deducentibus eum.

[1] The solarius or solarium was a walk on the leads of the house, (Coles, Lat. Eng. Dict. 1707) or a projecting balcony. (Ainsworth.)

[2] "In portis et in vicis civitatis picturis pretiosis antiquorum victorum depingentes historias . . . . . . vicos suos exornant." (Elmham, p. 72.)

[3] MS. Sloane, 'processu.'

[4] At St. Paul's the king was met by fourteen bishops "reussed and mitred, with censors in their hands, to welcome the king, and songen for his gracious victory, Te Deum laudamus." (MS. Cott. Claud. a. viii.)

Capitulum Sextum Decimum.

A. D. 1416.

It is resolved to hold a parliament.

Et post finita proximæ dominicæ Nativitatis celebria, ex communi consilio majorum regni statuit summoniri parliamentum ad primum diem Martii, ad providendum de communi consilio omne quid ultra ad universale commodum ac pro utilitate et tranquillitate regni et rei-publicæ esset consultiùs faciendum. Contigit interim prope inceptionem dicti parliamenti, nobilem illum et illustrem principem comitem Dorsetiæ, avunculum regis et capitaneum de Harfleu, proposuisse equitatum in interiores partes Normanniæ pro alimentis municipii ampliandis. Contigit et Gallicos fortassis occultâ proditione esse conscios hujus propositi, comite nesciente.

The captain of Harfleur rides forth. 9th March.*

Et cùm demum idem comes arripuisset iter propositum in circiter mille equitibus et fuit inter Ffyschamp et Diipe,[1] ad plusquam xx^{ti}. milliaria ab Harfleu, et indulgeret circà congreganda alimenta et manubias pro instauratione villæ et recreatione suorum, surrexit subitò ab insidiis Gallorum potentia, et præter insidias positas in multis turbarum copiis inter locum illum et Harfleu, ostenderunt se dicto comiti in circiter quinque millibus de electissimis eorum, duce comite Armigniaci constabulario Franciæ.

The French rise up from an ambuscade.

Et tunc comes ille nobilis capitaneus noster sic quasi subitò et improvisè præoccupatus, nullum præter Divinum invocans auxilium pro defensione suâ et justitiâ coronæ Angliæ, aciem instruxit pedestrem ex paucâ comitivâ suâ, ponens equos et evectiones ad dorsum suum. Et cùm interim para-

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* MS. Cott. Cleop. c. iv. fo. 27. b.

[1] Fécamp and Dieppe.

A.D. 1416. March.

verunt se Galli, paraverunt et Angli; et cùm demum intermissis tractatibus, pars Gallorum suasisset comiti ut consideraret se non posse in tantâ paucitàte eis resistere, et quod citiùs se redderet cum suis quàm gentem suam exponeret captioni et gladio, et obtulisset ei, eâ conditione, ipsum et gentem recipere in gratiam et pro certâ redemptione uniuscujusque juxtà statum seu grâdum suum dimittere ad propria sine bello, comes spretis oblationibus his utputà plenis inhumanitate et vecordiâ, cum se respondisset nullo modo inclinari suasionibus eorum dedecentibus nec respuere gratiam Dei, sed armatâ justitiâ regis sui et regni Angliæ eorum rebellioni sub divinâ protectione resistere, emiserunt Galli à stationibus eorum magnam multitudinem equitum ad oppugnandum stationem nostram et frangendam. Qui non obstantibus acuminibus sagittarum ac lancearum positarum ad equorum pectora, altero fine dimisso in terram, dissiparunt et percurrerunt stationes Anglorum per medium. Sed dum prædâ et manubiis quæ erant in dorso stationum, ac occisioni puerorum qui remanserunt ad sarcinas et cæterorum sagittariorum qui ab acie fugerant, indulserunt, comes ille strenuus, quamvis in hâc fracturâ graviter vulneratus, resociavit suos in aciem, et interim in loco statuit tutiori.

The conflict.

The Earl silently retreated from the stations of the French.

Sed cùm appropiante nocte pars adversa forsitan læsionem in hâc mixturâ sentiens, ulteriùs aggredi distulisset, machinans fortè eos posse potiùs fame quàm ferro vincere. Et tandem fuerunt omnes infrà noctis conticinia.[1] Comes iniit consilium cum suis, et demum consideratâ eorum destitutione in victualibus et verisimiliter debere eos esurire quàm

[1] This poetical remark recals to mind Göethe's lovely ode to Evening:—

"Peace breathes upon the shade of every hill."

A.D. 1416. March.

ense perire, pensatâ etiam augmentatione continuâ Gallicorum et eorum diminutione verisimili, uno voto consuluerunt taciturno[1] recessui, et propter insidias positas inter eos et Harfleu verterunt se silenter ad latus maris, ut haberent illud pro securitate et muro ex unâ parte. In multâ inde desolatione et penuriâ sub spe tamen cælestis gratiæ, totâ nocte in multis sudoribus laboraverunt, usque oram Secani fluminis pertigerunt apud Kydecaus,[2] ad ultra xx.ti milliaria à primis stationibus Gallicorum. Et cùm tunc se crediderunt penitùs ereptos de inimicorum imperio, ecce subitò, post surgentem auroram, Gallici in multis millibus qui nocte illâ explorato Anglorum recessu, surrexerunt ab insidiis prosequentes, opposuerunt se Anglis; Gallicis occupantibus montem, et Anglis vallem inter eos et flumen. Et tunc Angli sic præoccupati oculos in cælum levaverunt, humiliaverunt se Deo, divinam imploraverunt clementiam, ut recordaretur et compateretur eorum, ac ipsos eriperet in manu suâ validâ de gladio ultionis. Et tandem excitati per dictum comitem resumpserunt animos. Et quamvis nimio labore lassati, armorum pondere, fameque et sudoribus fatigati essent, et jam adversaria multitudo incepisset descendere versùs eos, in spe tamen firmâ triumphi, viriliter et intrepidè ascenderunt ad illos in telis, lanceis et securibus, sub Dei invocatione et sancti Georgii. Et demùm postquam dextras cum hostibus viriliter miscuissent, et utrimque efferbuisset durities belli, Deus ipse propitius et misericors Anglorum populo, et qui in trecentis viris separatis à reliquâ multitudine populi triumphavit in gladio Gedeonis de innumerabilibus castris Madian, in non multò ampliùs quàm nongentis Anglicis

Kydecaus.

A battle is fought, and the enemy are routed.

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[1] MS. Sloane, 'nocturno.'

[2] See note 4, page 13.

A. D. 1416. March.

subegit coronæ Angliæ saltèm, fugâ, captione vel gladio, ultrà quindecim millia rebellium Gallicorum: "A Domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris." "Sit nomen Domini benedictum!" Potitâ vero hâc miraculosâ victoriâ, comes ille illustris in gaudio et exultatione et laude Dei cum suis in pace remeavit ad Harfleu.[1] Et cùm hanc gratiam et gloriam Dei, regi nostro per literas nunciasset, procidit rex in faciem considerationis suæ, gratias agens Deo ante thronum summæ clementiæ suæ, quod sic visitare dignatus est se et suos, oriens ab excelso.[2] Decantarique fecit statim per capellam suam An-

Thanks are rendered to God for the victory.

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[1] In this Battle of Cany the English lost 300 men, (Hall,) besides their horses and baggage. (MS. Cott. Cleop. c. iv.) For a fuller account of the action see the following French Chronicle. The Earl of Dorset had made two previous forays: one towards Rouen, on the 18th of November, 1415, and one on the 19th of December. In the latter he brought into Harfleur "800 churls of the country." (MS. Cleop. c. iv.) The horses of the garrison had been much distressed for the want of provender. On the 25th November the council had recommended the king to send a person to Harfleur to examine the state of the artillery, and to take with him 1000 quarters of oats or more, to be paid for out of the 3640*l.* to be sent them for the payment of 300 men-at-arms and 900 archers for one quarter. (Acts of Privy Council, ii. 184.) In May, 1416, Henry sent to the town of Harfleur an ample quantity of "vitaille et autre stuff besoignable." Amongst other articles, "1000 arcs, 2000 trusses de fleches, 100 gross de cords pour arcs, et 100 arblastes, 20 toneaux de miell (probably for mead), 100 tartes de boofs, et 2000 de bacon." (MS. Donat. 4601, p. 49.)

From the order to the treasurer to pay the wages of the garrison of Harfleur in January 1416, we gather its strength.

The Earl of Dorset, captain, was to receive 6*s.* 8*d.* per day.

	each per day.
4 barons	4*s.*
2 knights . .	—"souldz."
273 men-at-arms	12*d.*
"ovesque regards simple"	
900 archers	6*d.*
18 gunners with 1 serj[t]	—"souldz."
2 master carpenters .	12*d.*
40 others	6*d.*
2 master masons . .	12*d.*
90 others	6*d.*
labourers	6*d.*

(MS. Donat. 4601, art. 99.)

The knights received each 2*s.* per day. (Excerp. Hist. p. 26.) The "regards accoustumez" were "selon l'afferant de cent marcz pur trente hommes d'armes le quarter." (Fœdera, iv. 115.)

[2] MS. Sloane, 'ex alto.'

gelicum hymnum "Te Deum laudamus," &c. ad laudem et gloriam Dei, qui Angliam suam cum populo sic miraculosè dignatus est in suum peculium acceptare.

A. D. 1416.

Capitulum Decimum Septimum.

Cùmque inter hæc parliamentum inceptum erat et venerabilis pater Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, avunculus regis et frater dicti comitis, Cancellarius Angliæ, illud virtute officii sui pronunciasset; in ipsâ pronunciatione post materias quas tangebat in genere pro re publicâ regni, tetigit de triumphis regis nostri quos ei Deus providit, in obstinationem rebellium Gallicorum, et de ostensâ clementiâ Dei in occultis judiciis suis, declarans quod sicut inter habentes superiorem in terris controversia subcælesti judicio discutitur, ita inter non habentes superiorem de sub cælo cælesti arbitrio declaratur gladio exequente;[1] et sicut in subcælestibus judiciis tres sententiæ diffinitivæ conformes pro jure petentis jus plenè declarare videntur, et eis omninò fore parendum, ita et in cælesti judicio divinarum sententiarum Trinitas jus plenissimè terminare videtur, et etiam eis omnimodo obediendum fore, concludens ex isto quod jus coronæ Angliæ ad regnum Franciæ tribus sententiis conformibus esse divinitùs declaratum, et igitur contra eas nullatenùs fore perstandum. Primò, viz.[t] in bello navali de Sclus, tempore inclytissimi regis Edwardi ultimi, cui jure hæreditario ex materno sanguine descendebat corona Franciæ; ubi perempto Gallorum populo, Deo judicante, videbatur prima sententia fore lata.

A parliament is opened by the Bishop of Winchester. 16th March.

Of the three judgments of God in favour of the crown of England.

[1] "ita inter non habentes" to "gladio exequente" *desunt* in the Sloane MS.

A. D. 1416. 16th March.

Secundò, quidem, in campestri prælio Pictaviæ per inclytissimum principem Edwardum primogenitum suum et hæredem hæreditaria bella gerentem, ubi, interfectâ nobilitate Gallorum et capto Johanne intrusore regni, videbatur secunda sententia Divino imperio cedere coronæ Angliæ.

Et jam tertiò per serenissimum regem nostrum in campo de Agincort, ubi fugatâ Francorum imbelli multitudine cessit Gallorum gladius sceptro Angliæ tertiâ ultrice sententiâ, captis primoribus et nobilibus interemptis.[1] O Deus! cur non paret hæc gens misera et duræ cervicis tot terribilibus divinis sententiis, quibus manifestissimâ ultione ab eis exigit obediri? Subjunxit etiam idem Cancellarius qualiter inter has tres ultrices sententias quia obedire differunt, Dominus noster justus judex tria ab eis subtraxit, per quæ et in quibus plus nobis afficere potuerunt. Primò autem beneficientiam portuum eorum principalium Calesiæ à dudum, etiam sed præcipuè Harfleu ab olim infestissimæ nobis.

Of three principal advantages that have been taken from them.

Secundò audaciam ex incussione timoris de terribilibus et insanabilibus plagis in stragibus hominum in dictis congressionibus, et præcipuè jam novissimè in Agincort, quas suspicare poterunt contemptores ad ultionem contempti judicii provenisse,

Et tertiò, potentiam eorum per distractionem nobilium et virorum fortium in omnibus his præliis et maximè in hâc ultimâ terrificâ sententiâ Dei in

[1] Parliament had assembled on the Monday after the feast of All Saints, Henry being then at Calais. (Rot. Parl. iv. 62.) The king summoned the parliament again on March 16th. The speech here recorded is probably that delivered by the chancellor on the latter occasion. At this parliament it was enacted, "That because of the damnable schism which has lasted a long time in holy Church, and may still remain, one cannot say how much longer, all Bishops elect, and other persons, should be confirmed by the Metropolitan upon the King's writs, without further excuse or delay." (Idem, iv. 71.)

Agincort. O, utinam resipiscat gens illa indomabilis et condoleat proprio sanguini, consideransque hæc formidanda et mirabilia judicia Dei resileant, etsi serò, ad æquitatem cum Anglis, ne patiens et benignus Deus toties ex contempto judicio irritatus, tandem, quod absit à Christiano sanguine, se impropitiabiliter vindicet in rebelles.

A.D. 1416. 16th March.

Capitulum Decimum Octavum.

The report of the approach of the emperor with proposals of peace,

Cùmque ultra in dicto parliamento progressum est, primò jam incepit divulgari per latitudinem Angliæ quod suprascriptus christianissimus et superillustrissimus princeps, Sigismundus imperator,[1] tactus dolore cordis intrinsecùs super flebilibus casibus et dissensionibus enormibus duorum regnorum Angliæ et Franciæ, ac plagis quasi insanabilibus et inconsolabilibus lacrymis, in afflictionibus et mortibus Christianorum et damnis irreparabilibus[2] inde secuturis, si non citiùs Deus apponat remedium, teneritudinem[3] hujus reparandi negotii præponderans quietudini propriæ, suspenso ad tempus laborioso et quàm necessario processu circà liberationem universalis ecclesiæ à synagogæ imperio et scissione tunicæ inconsutilis regis æterni,[4] cui ardentissimè insu-

[1] This was that Sigismund (brother to Anne, queen of Richard II.) who became a byeword throughout Hungary in consequence of his having violated his safe-conduct to John Huss, and in reference to whom Charles V. remarked, when asked to consent to Luther's execution, Do you wish me to blush as Sigismund did at Constance? The emperor's second queen was Barbara, daughter of the Count de Cilley by Mary de Coucy, governess to Isabel, the interesting queen of Richard II. The profligacy of the empress gained for her the epithet of the Messalina of Germany. (Rees's Cyclop.)

[2] MS. Sloane, 'irrecuparabilibus.'

[3] Idem, 'temeritatem.'

[4] Compare Note 3, page 5.

A.D. 1416. daverat, decrevit in personâ propriâ, partim ad hoc motus per Francorum consilium, medios labores assumere penès utrorum regnorum consilium, et pro ipsorum utriusque salute, ut si posset hujusmodi intermediis sudoribus, Deo juvante, animos dissidentium concordes facere, et pacem duorum regnorum cruentis gladiis penè exhaustam in statum pristinum revocare. Et pro hoc consummando felicissimo negotio descendebat de solio imperii sui, et venit Parisium circa principium Martii.

and of his arrival at Paris, March 1416.

The king declines to dissolve the parliament.

Et cùm diu tractibus et tractatibus incubuisset cum eis, et Anglia nostra ejus desideratum adventum ad hoc saluberrimum propositum diù et avidè expectasset usque ad appropinquans festum Paschatis, et rex verbum habuisset eum non posse venire citrà Pascha, noluit dissuere parliamentum suum ante adventum ejus, sed habere integrum pro solidiori et validiori consilio in tam grandi materiâ speratæ pacis, continuavit illud usque in quindenam festi.

A rumour of the approach of the Duke of Holland, and a description of the arrival of the emperor.

Nunciabatur interim in Angliam illustrem principem Willielmum ducem Holandiæ velle ad regnum accedere ob hoc ipsum.[1] Completis verò inde octabis resurrectionis Dominicæ, præfatus superillustrissimus princeps imperator habens in comitivâ suâ, pro parte Francorum, Archiepiscopum Remensem, venit in Angliam cum circiter mille equis. Receptus primò Calesiis per strenuum militem Comitem Warwici capitaneum. Inde apud Dovoriam per illustrem principem Humfridum Ducem Gloucestriæ, fratrem regis minorem, constabularium castri; Cantuariæ per archiepiscopum; apud Roffam,[2] per nobilem

29th April.

[1] "Ad videndum majestatem duorum regum, maximamque magnificentiam." (Livius.)

[2] It might seem strange that the emperor and his retinue of 1000 knights could be lodged within the small castle of Rochester; but the late Mr. Ferguson, the astronomer, was accustomed to relate, that he remembered, when a youth, seeing Fraser of Lovat with his numerous

A.D. 1416.

principem Johannem Ducem Bedfordiæ, fratrem regis tertiogenitum; in Dertefordiâ per victoriosum principem, Thomam Ducem Clarenciæ, fratrem regis seniorem. Inde in promontorio de Blakehethe versùs civitatem per cives, et postremò Londoniæ, per circiter milliare ab urbe, à rege in circiter quinque millibus procerum et magnatum Angliæ in apparatibus cultioribus, et in omni honorificentiâ et laude, quibus utriusque personarum decuit majestatem.[1] Et exindè duxit eum rex per medium civitatis usque ad palatium suum Westmonasterii, quod pro morâ suâ propriâ ornatissimè fecerat præparari; et direxit seipsum ad manerium archiepiscopi de Lambeth, quod pro receptione suâ propriâ jusserat venustari.[2]

4th May.

The session of parliament is resumed, and the oaths of allegiance are renewed.

Et sequente die Lunæ in quindenâ Paschæ[3] resumpto parliamento in majori aulâ Westmonasterii et processo per aliquot dies in eodem, firmatâque interim et renovatâ alligantiâ unà cum fraternitate priùs contractâ inter regem et imperatorem propriis et immediatis sponsionibus adhibitis cartis scriptis, et solemnitatibus debitis, quas quotatas invenies in libro recordorum;[4] habito etiam continuo sudore

garrison of feudal followers in his equally small Scotch castle. The men-at-arms slept, all together, on rushes or straw in the halls.

[1] The emperor was extremely pleased with the honourable reception he met with at Calais from the Earl of Warwick, who gained thereby the title of the Father of Courtesy. (Goodwin, p. 103.) The names of the great officers of state who were associated with the lords named in the text, for the reception of the emperor with due honour, will be found in the Acts of the Privy Council, ii. 193. Sir Walter Hungerford was appointed governor of his household. Amongst the emperor's retinue were the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Milan, and many German, Italian, and Polish marquises and earls. (Vide Goodwin, *ut supra;* and MS. Cott. Cleop. c. iv. fo. 29.)

Theodoric, Archbishop of Cologne, had arrived in England shortly before, to renew his treaty of allegiance. (Idem.)

[2] The latter part of this sentence from "ornatissimè" *deest* in the Sloane MS., the two last words excepted.

[3] Easter fell this year on the 19th of April.

[4] The particulars of the treaty may be seen in Elmham, p. 84.

A.D. 1416. 4th May. Pains are taken to establish peace, and a solemn Chapter of St. George is held.

in tractatu pacis in personis propriis ipsarum imperialium celsitudinum et inter utriusque Angliæ et Franciæ concilium, tandem rex noster volens aliquantulum respirare, et præfatum superillustrissimum principem fratrem suum inter has solicitudines recreationi etsi modicè indulgere,[1] peregit urgentia solemnia sancti Georgii, hucusque ob ipsius reverentiam et adventum dilata, die Dominico in clavibus Rogationum,[2] in collegio suo infra castrum de Wyndesoure, cujus festum priùs impetraverat, à provinciali cleri concilio, more duplicis festi, perpetuis futuris temporibus per Angliam celebrari. Interque solemnia idem supremus princeps imperator priùs electus et admissus in fraternitatem militum, et etiam alii nobiles quatuor ad hoc idem assumpti secundùm armorum industriam loco aliorum qui eo anno ceciderunt pro republicâ, excepto suprascripto domino le Scrope, quem conspirantem contrà rempublicam proditio reprobavit in mortem, installationis insignia receperunt, rege nostro velut ipsius collegii militum præside præsidente.[3]

The emperor is installed among the fraternity of the knights.

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[1] A new gown and tabard had been ordered for the king's fool, and 16 new gowns for the same number of minstrels (Fœdera, ix. 335, 6). Many of them were probably harpers. See Elmham, p. 23.

[2] Each of the five moveable festivals was commemorated for thirty days, and had a clavis, or variable number, by which the first day of the feast was found, as Easter was found by the golden number. The "clavis" was also the first day of the feast. (Ducange; consult also Nicolas's Chronology of History, p. 26.) St. George's Day was made "festum duplex ad modum majoris duplicis," by a canon of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury. (Ashmole, Ord. Gart. p. 469.)

[3] Six vacancies had been occasioned by the deaths of Lord Roos, Henry Lord Scrop, Sir John d'Abrichecourt, the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of York, and the Lord de la Zouche. Five new knights were created, viz. Sir William Haryngton, William fourth Lord de la Zouche, Sir John Holand second Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Oxford, and the emperor. (Ashmole, Ord. Gart.) The emperor brought with him the heart of St. George, which was preserved at Windsor until the time of Henry VIII. (Idem.)

A.D. 1416.

Et circà Dominicæ Ascensionis mysteria venit in Angliam præfatus illustris princeps Dux Willielmus Holandiæ,[1] in circiter octogentis viris: qui mox copulatus est firmissimo consilio regio pro hujusmodi speratâ pace, sub tot illustrissimis tractatoribus, et Dei adjutorio, in integrum reducendâ.

The Duke of Holland arrives. 28th May.

Capitulum Decimum Nonum.

Sed dum hæc agerentur sincerissimis mentibus ex parte istorum principum, ecce Gallicana duplicitas producens in medium quod sub hujus simulatæ pacis tractatu mente conceperat, non tractatu sed tractu quidem pacis dilatorio ascitis sibi medio tempore caracis de Januâ et aliis collateralium provinciarum galeis et navibus in grandi numero, congregaverat navalem potentiam, et intrans ora Secana obsidionem posuerat ad urbem de Harfleu.[2] Et inde securi de

Whilst negotiations are in progress the French lay siege to Harfleur.

[1] William of Bavaria, Count of Ostrevant, K.G., succeeded his father, Albert, as Count or Sovereign of Holland, Hainault, and Zealand in 1404. The Counts of Holland of this family were Dukes of Bavaria by birth. The duke arrived in the Orwell, 28th May, 1416, under the title of the Duke of Holland. His escort, according to Hardyng, consisted of sixty ships. The bishop's palace, Ely Place, Holborn, was assigned for his reception. (Chron. of London.) The duke's only daughter, Jacqueline, eloped at an early age from her second husband the Duke of Brabant, and having obtained a dispensation from the pseudo-pope Benedict XIII., married Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and apparently with Henry's sanction, for she received from him a monthly allowance of 100*l*. whilst in England. (Pell Issue Rolls, 6th Nov. 9 Hen. V.) The sudden death of the Duke of Holland shortly after his return home, gave room to a suspicion that he had been poisoned by the Orleans' party. His duchess was sister to the Duke of Burgundy.

[2] Owing to the mediation of the emperor, the king had consented to a truce for three years, during which period Harfleur was to have been placed under the custody of the emperor and the Duke of Holland, in trust for certain securities promised by the French prisoners then in England; but the arrival of the news of the siege of Harfleur broke off the negotiation for the present. The proposed truce was

A. D. 1416.
May.
They insult England.

mari nitebantur ut simul cum parte navigii villam per obsidionem in penuriâ victualium caperent, et navigium Angliæ cum parte reliquâ destruerent et devastarent. Accessit igitur pars potior eorum ad portum Hamonis[1] ubi erant inter alias, potiores[2] naves regiæ, et tentaverunt per aliquot dies machinis et incendio eas consumere si potuissent. Sed Deus, auctor pacis et amator, et qui odit inquietudines et fallacias, eorum malitiam, sibi laudes, in paucis Anglicis retundebat. Tentarunt indè rapinâ et incendio terram invasisse in aliis diversis locis maritimis; sed semper, Deo jubente, humaniter repulsi plus receperunt dispendii quàm fecerunt, excepto quod in primo eorum impetu modicam insulam de Portelond, penè priùs omni indigentiâ[3] vacuam combusserunt. Et dum rex noster omnia hæc mala dissimularet, et dissimulasset perpetuò ob speratam pacem cum proximo suo sub tot tractatoribus et mediis illustribus, tandem Francorum calliditas putans eis sub his protractionibus inanibus omnia succedere ad vota, noluit ullo modo ad rationabilem pacem inflecti, sed regem verbis tenuit, ut si Angliam sicut solitò tractatibus tractam in recuperatione villæ de Harfleu, cui summis desideriis insudaverat, ter-

The French lay waste the Island of Portland by fire.

The king having discovered their craftiness, assembles his army.

very unpopular with the commoners, who dreaded the loss of the treasure that they expected to gain in case of a war, "which they grudged with their whole heart." (MS. Cott. Cleop. c. iv. fo. 29.)

In addition to the carracks, which were lofty ships, with two masts, of about 500 tons, hired from the Genoese, then the naval mercenaries of Europe, the French had hired large ships from Spain, (St. Rémy, Des Ursins, and Hardyng) and great "triremes," or galleys, from Venice and Florence. (Livy and Hakluyt.) At that time England received large quantities of iron from Spain. On the 12th of May, 1415, or 1425, letters of safe-conduct were given to the masters of two ships of 150 and 200 tons, laden with iron from Bilboa, and to a third with 160 tons, from "Vermuye in Spain." (Privy Seal Writs, Tower, 3rd Hen. V. or VI.)

[1] Apparently the Southampton Water.

[2] MS. Sloane, 'portiones.'

[3] Idem, 'indigenâ.'

A.D. 1416. June.

minorum conviviis quasi sicut Absalon Amon, et verborum gladiis fabrefactis ut Joab Amasam jugularet. Sed rex noster hoc satis perpendens, soluto parliamento, guerram imperat proclamari, congregarique navigium et exercitum præparari pro solvendâ dictâ obsidione, fugandisque impugnantibus hostibus et rebellibus profligandis. Instetit tunc Francorum subtilitas, et ut adhuc protraheret ad eorum intentum propositum regium, et obtulit multò majora et ampliora quàm priùs. Quibus rex ob speratam adhuc pacem, quam ultrà omnia desiderabilia hujus mundi affectavit, consensit, et siluit clamor guerræ. Sed cùm propiùs accederetur per Anglorum consilium ad sophisticorum terminorum fallacias, noluit Gallorum duplicitas in robur polliciti certis petitionibus justissimis assentire. Et tunc rex videns se sic vicissim deludi et trufari verbis, et percipiens satis Gallorum versutiam conari supplere vi verborum quod non poterant vi virorum, quamvis coactus immo involuntarius sed omninò necessariè in salvationem gentis suæ et villæ de Harfleu, resumpsit arma, summoniri fecit potentiam suam ad portum Hamonis.

The French making greater offers than before, the rumour of war ceased.

Capitulum Vicesimum.

Et interim venerunt regi ambassiatores solemnes ex parte Scotorum ad tractandum pro liberatione regis eorum, quem ad manus serenissimi regis genitoris sui fortuna dudum adduxerat.[1] Sed quia noluit

The Scots come for the liberation of their king.

[1] The Prince James, the only surviving son of Robert III., had been taken captive by Henry IV. in 1407 whilst on his passage to France. Several plots had been laid for his deliverance; one in which Sir John Oldcastle was said to have been implicated, and for which his clerk, Thomas Payn, suffered death. A route from Windsor to Scotland was found in his pocket. (Excerpt. Histor. p. 145.) Speed doubts whether Oldcastle had anything

A.D. 1416. June.

Scotorum consilium assentire subjectioni, homagio, et aliis prærogativis ab olim debitis coronæ Angliæ à regibus Scotorum et populo, petitis pro parte regis per legitima documenta quæ intitulantur in codice recordorum, illius ambassiatæ transmissio nullum saltèm utilem sequebatur effectum. Et exinde post almæ Trinitatis solemnia, dux Holandiæ redivit ad propria. Imperator ex ordinatione regiâ se direxit ad castrum de Ledes in Cantiâ,[1] et rex versùs exercitum suum Hamptoniæ properavit. Sed interim, inter has solicitudines missi fuerunt ex parte Imperatoris ambassiatores solemnes, magnus Comes Hungariæ palatinus, et in comitivâ suâ alii proceres ad Parisiense concilium;[2] et post eos ambassiatores alii solemnes ex parte regis, ut si adhuc post omnia hæc mala, absque duriori duritiâ belli et executione divini judicii, aliquo justo medio possit pax inclyta resarciri. Et cùm deinceps rex extiterat apud portum Hamonis pro dispositione navalis potentiæ ad solutionem obsidionis prædictæ et pro repellendis incursibus piratarum, venerunt imperatori de Fran-

The Duke of Holland makes his voyage home. The emperor went to Ledes and the king to Hampton.

to do with it. In the 6th of Henry IV. the young Prince had been secretly conveyed out of Windsor Castle, but was retaken. The Lady Despenser accused her brother, the Duke of York, as the promoter of this plot. (Tyler, Hen. of Monmouth.)

Henry had expected that the Scots would have ransomed their Prince; for, on the 20th July, in the second year of his reign, he promised to pay the garrison of Calais 5000 marks towards their arrears of wages out of the 'deliverance' of James King of Scotland. (P. Seal Writs, S. Paper Office. Bund. 9. Henry V.)

[1] Ledes Castle was then considered one of the strongest fortresses in England, its moat being of an extraordinary width. This interesting baronial residence is still standing. An engraving of it in its former state is given in Hasted's History of Kent. King Richard II. was some time confined there, and it was honoured with the presence of George the Third.

[2] "And the Duke of Holland was here from St. Germane's Day, that was the 28th of May, till St. Alban's Even next ensuing, (21st June,) the which is three weeks and three days, the which St. Alban's Evyn he went to water, and other four dukes of the emperor's and an archbishop with them into France." (Cott. MS. Cleop. c. iv.)

A.D. 1416.

ciâ per suprascriptum dominum Radulphum de Gaucort literæ sub nomine et sigillo regis Francorum, quæ, procedentes juxta ipsarum attestationem ex deliberatione consilii regni, dederunt plenum consensum ad articulos appunctuatos per concilium Angliæ, quos sibi imperator per dictos suos ambassiatores transmiserat, et quos Francorum rex in eisdem literis suis inclusos imperatori remisit super finali conclusione petitionum Angliæ pro justitiâ et pace perpetuâ inter duo regna: specificantes cum hoc quod laboravit Francorum concilium cum ambassiatoribus Angliæ ad concordandum de die et loco ubi possent utrique reges pro hujùsmodi conclusione perpetuâ convenire, et quod interim impugnationes hostiles cessarent utrimque. Super quo cùm statim verbum regi Hamptoniæ ex parte imperatoris delatum est, accessit è vestigio ad imperatorem: sed et super novis istis uterque gavisus est valdè. Et proposuit rex solvisse navigium suum, existimans adversarium consimiliter fecisse de suo. Sed non sic callebat Gallicana duplicitas, immò sub hâc dilatione verborumque, et promissorum fallaciis, obsessos in Harfleu, quasi ut Triphon Jonathan, jugulare. Nam non superfluerunt duo dies in solatiis mutuis inter regem et imperatorem usque venerat regi verbum verissimum quod adversa navalis potentia, saltèm pars potior ejusdem, conclusisset januam portûs de Portesmothe, adhibitâ diligenti custodiâ ne portio nostri navigii existentis Hamptoniæ exire posset ad portionem residuam, nec portio illa reliqua ad istam intrare,[1] quæ et assultare tentasset hanc interiorem

The French make war.

18th July.

[1] In the following year Henry erected towers to protect Portsmouth. It was on the 18th July that the King, when at Southampton, being informed of the arrival of the enemy's fleet, ordered the bailiff or sheriff (viscomte) of Southampton to order all the captains and leaders of men-at-arms, hoblers, and archers in the towns of "Milton, Mefford, Hashunt, Basyngstoke, Glokebrygg, An-

A. D. 1416. partem, et invasisse insulam Vectem, ut si eas posse gravare incendio, vel quâvis arte aliâ impugnare. Venit etiam verbum pro parte ambassiatorum Angliæ qui erant apud Francorum concilium, quod malè tractati fuerunt, et propriis sumptibus inclusi hospitiis ne ullo tempore exirent, qualiter vel quàm humaniter et extraneæ[1] hactenùs ex neutrâ parte fieri consuevit. Et quia pollicitatio Francorum ad dictos articulos appunctuatos per concilium Angliæ ac tractatus super conventione duorum Regum non fuit nisi unum quid simulatum, solùm ad dilationem et pertractionem solitam usque per dictam obsidionem navalem haberent villam de Harfleu, quam jam in proximo ob alimentorum raritatem credebant fore subdendam.[2] Quodque penè penitùs recessissent ab assensu dictorum articulorum, sed nec vellent super die et loco conventionis hujusmodi ullis tractatibus concordare. Et tunc rex noster in magnâ displicentiâ, sentiens sub hâc duplicitate totaliter se delusum, non indulsit somnum oculis usque navigium suum attigerat succurrendum. Et cùm inde per aliquot dies adversarii tentassent quid nocumenti navigio et insulæ ingerere poterant; sed Deo protegente, in nihilo proficientes, tandem vacui recessissent, obsidioni pristinæ se jungentes, præbente eis ut dicebatur Comite Armigniaci animum et ducatum. Rex, nolens in propriâ personâ negotium illud assumere[3] et dimittere imperatorem solum,

The same thing is reported.

The king appointed the Duke of

deuvre, and Christchurch," and other places in his bailiwick, to meet and repel the enemy. (MS. Donat. 4601. art. 38.)

[1] 'extraneæ,' personæ being understood.

[2] Such had been the delay in provisioning Harfleur, that the Earl of Dorset wrote to the council on the 14th April, complaining that he had frequently applied for provisions, artillery, and other stores, especially corn and meat; that he had lost a great part of his horses, and that if they did not receive them speedily, they and all the king's subjects there must return before new Easter "nouvel Quaresme." (Acts of Privy Council.)

[3] The king was with difficulty induced to give up the command,

A.D. 1416.

absque pari præsentiâ in terrâ suâ, præfecit illustrem principem fratrem suum ducem Bedfordiæ, in principem exercitûs sui navalis pro dictâ obsidione solvendâ,[1] instauratione villæ et hostibus profligandis. Et seipsum traxit versùs imperatorem et inde Londonium pro aliis regni necessariis dirigendis.

Bedford to command the fleet.

Capitulum Vicesimum Primum.

Sed dum vento diu persistente contrario extrinseca pars remigii ad istam intravem[2] venire non posset, demum erectis velis direxit se pars ista ad partem aliam in le Cambre;[3] sed cùm adhuc inimicâ vi ventorum utræque partes huc et illuc diu distractæ fuerunt, tandem post multos dies, Deo largiente, reunitæque per ventorum amicitiam propositi lucrari non poterant, attraxerunt per fluxus altrinsecos usque in adversum de Bewchief[4] ferè in oppositum

but at length yielded to the advice of his council, or, according to Livius, to the persuasion of the emperor. The expedition was still called "the king's voyage." (Fœdera, ix. 371.) Before the naval engagement off Harfleur, Henry, fearing the loss of that town, had offered to sign a truce with France for three years, leaving Harfleur as a pledge in the custody of the Emperor and the Duke of Holland, but the Constable Armagnac, hoping to starve Harfleur into a surrender, refused all terms.

[1] The Earl of Huntingdon and Sir Walter Hungerford were appointed admirals under the duke.

[2] MS. Sloane, 'intrinsecam.' Portsmouth harbour is apparently here referred to.

[3] We read of the Camber (Cambre, Norman, a curb or bend) as being a rendezvous for the navy of Edward III. It was the roadstead at the mouth of the River Rother, to the east of Rye. Camber Castle was not built till the reign of Henry VIII.

Sir Walter Hungerford gave a receipt for 1000 marks of gold, to pay the mariners being in the port of the "Caumbre," going to sea in the king's service under the Duke of Bedford, dated Winchester, 1st August, 4 Hen. V. (MS. Donat. 4601, art. 40.)

[4] MS. Sloane, 'Beuchief;' Elmham, 'Beauchief' and 'Byauchiefe;' Beachy Head, so called from its whiteness and beauty. There was also a "De bello Capite, or Beauchief," near Norton in Derbyshire. (Tanner, Notit. Monas. p. 81.) It is suggested whether the modern name Beachy may not be a corruption of the Norman Beauchief. The ships had been collected in the night by lights displayed from the duke's ship. (Elmham.)

A.D. 1416. Secani fluminis pervenerunt. Et dum die Veneris
14th August. in vigiliâ Assumptionis beatæ Virginis ventus amica-
500 perish with hunger (at Harfleur). biliter sufflasset in frontem velorum, Deo jubente, per intercessionem suæ matris compatientis, ut piè creditur, genti dotis suæ Angliæ tam diu vexatæ fluctibus et etiam afflictioni sociorum in Harfleu per famis inediam,[1] mox post redditas Deo laudes sub-
They sail towards Harfleur with a favourable wind. tractis anchoris versùs ora Secanica se traxerunt. Et cùm hoc nunciatum esset à prospicientibus regi nostro apud Westmonasterium ad noctem, velut inclytus Machabeus precatus est Deum ex corde tenero ut recordaretur sui et gentis suæ, et ut ipsius gentis suæ pro justitiâ et re publicâ regni laborantis inter adversarias potentias salvationi prospiceret et saluti.

The king caused prayers to be offered for the people. Et ut multiplicatis intercessoribus potiùs à divinâ largitione suæ petitionis salutarem consequeretur effectum, misit in crastino manè ad virum Dei reclusum Westmonasterii, ac ad sanctos viros religiosos domûs Cartusiæ Londonii, et propriæ domûs suæ de Sheen, ut orarent teneriùs et devotiùs quò poterant, inter eorum secretas preces et lacrymas, et præsertim in arâ Christi ubi patri filius immolatur pro salute populi sui, et ut mitterent ad sanctos viros quos crederent per eorum merita à Deo potiùs exaudiri posse, ut et ipsi exorarent similiter continuè et indefessè. Et noluit Deus non audiri, tantæ humilitatis et confidentiæ in precibus, principem; sed nec in faustis eventibus contristari, immò eodem die Angliam suam

[1] Amongst Sir John Fastolf's papers, temp. Hen. VI., is the following memorandum:—"How Harfleu by my Lord Sir Thomas late Duc of Excest' and other was kept by the space of III yere, whān a cow was at x marks, and the noble and most victorious Prince the King, ffader to our sou'uaign lord that now is, did resscue yt whan IIII^c deyed within the towne for hunger, as it is of recorde, and now at the inconvenyence fallen but late, I trow for hunger dyed ffew or none." (MS. Arundel, 48. Coll. of Arms, fo. 324, b.)

Much valuable information relating to Sir John will be found in the Cronique par Jehan de Waurin, 6746, Bibl. du Roi. tom. x. liv. iv. ch. 10.

A. D. 1416.

15th August. The battle began, and the enemy were cut to pieces.

pro quâ orabat à peste adversariâ potentialiter liberavit. Nam aurorâ surgente, cùm utrumque navigium interfruerentur alterutris optatibus, et inde trahentes versùs se invicem in ostio Secani fluminis, junctis lateribus dextras miscuissent,[1] et intermissis telis, lanceis, ferro[2] et lapidibus ac invasivis aliis

[1] MS. Sloane, 'immiscuissent.'

[2] No mention is made of the use of cannons in this engagement, but they had been in general use for the last fifty years. (See Nicolas' Royal Navy, ii. 185.) Several cannons were purchased expressly for this expedition. (Pell Issue Rolls, 5th June, 4 Hen. V.) The French had endeavoured, but in vain, to burn the English ships with Greek Fire. (Hardyng and Hakluyt.) Masses of iron were taken up to the tops to be used as missiles. We learn this fact from the petition of a soldier, who had been in this action, for relief, who stated that he had been wounded with "a gad of iron." (Ellis, Original Letters, 2nd series, ii. 95.) The Genoese carracks, which Elmham calls from their height, marine castles, were at length carried by boarding, in sight of the garrison of Harfleur. Certain Italian galleys endeavoured to prevent the English reaching Harfleur, but the Duke manned some of his swiftest barges and compelled them to flee. (Livius, p. 26.) The total number of the enemy's vessels is stated by Hakluyt to have been 500 sail, and he refers to the chamberlain, who was present, for a confirmation of his assertion. Of these eight only were Genoese carracks, which were manned by 600 cross-bow men. (Speed, who quotes as his authority Agostino Giustimano Vescono di Nobio.) In process of time Henry acquired a fleet of carracks by capture. On the 12th July, 1417, the king wrote to the Bishop of Winchester, Chancellor, from Southampton, informing him that he had changed the names of four carracks lately taken from the enemy by the Earl of Huntingdon, and ordered him to issue his letters to each of the captains to take 100 mariners to serve in the said carracks.

"La Carrakke appellee le Petre, dont Jankyn Jerard, maistre pour le Roy;
La Carakke appellee Vivande, ore Poule, William Payn, maistre pour le Roy;
La Carrakke appellee la Pynele, ore Cristofre, Will^m Tender, le maistre pour le Roy;
La Carrakke appellee le Galeas negre, ore Andreu, N. Thornyng, maistre pour le Roy."
(Letters Missive, Hen. V. Tower.)

The following verses were written after the naval victory of the following year:—

"Regum belligero trito celeberrimus arvo
Gallos, Hispanos, Janos, devicit, et urget,
Vastat; turbantur cætera regna metu.
Navali bello bis devicti quoque Jani."

"Ceteri fugerunt cum Hispanis navibus qui venerunt cum eis. Et propter eorum naves fecit rex

A.D. 1416. 15th August. The number of the slain.

efferbuisset bellantium feritas: tandem post diuturnam acerrimam pugnam quinque vel sex horarum, peremptis ex illis ad mille quingentas animas et circiter quadringentis captis, et interfectis ex nostris ad circiter centum in tantâ pressurâ missilium, captisque tribus magnis caracis et unâ hulcâ submersâ, Deo imperante victoria cessit Anglis; reliquâ multitudine hostium fugiente ad Honnfleu in oppositum Harfleu ex altero latere aquæ Secanæ, quam nostri non audebant prosequi propter incognitos alveos, ignota sabula, et insueti fluminis raritatem, ubi maxima fugientium caracarum quæ et mater omnium dicebatur, timore insequentium violenter impulsa sabulo, naufragavit.[1] Et alia caracarum hostilium per multos dies ante conflictum etiam in januis Secani fluminis vi ventorum diruptis anchoris impulsa sabulo contrita deperiit.

The besieged are relieved.

Post conflictum verò, persolutis Deo laudibus de ostensâ suæ magnificentiæ gratiâ, princeps exercitûs dux Bedfordiæ, quo nullus dicebatur se gessisse strenuiùs in bello illo, memor penuriæ et desolationis sociorum in Harfleu, petiit eos, consolabaturque, et diuturnæ famis duritiam, in victualium plenitudine delinivit. Et inter hæc per plures dies post conflictum apud ora Secanica, visa sunt corpora occisorum natantia per fluxum et refluxum projici et retrahi, quasi humationem aliam quam piscium peterent, vel potiùs plangerent conquerentia humanæ

Of the bodies of the slain that floated about in the river.

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fieri naves quales non erat in mundo." (Extract from Chron. in Trin. Ch. Winchester, in Hakluyt, Early Voyages, i. 185.)

[1] The name of this carrack was the "Mountnegrie." (Elmham.) The navigation of the Seine is equally uncertain and dangerous at the present day, owing to the immense heaps of sand which are being continually shifted by the violence of the "marée," or tide, which rushes up this trumpet-shaped river suddenly in a body, shortly before the hour of high-water, with a loud, rumbling noise resembling distant thunder.

carentiam sepulturæ. O amara memoria et grandis lacrymarum occasio videre et audire populum Christianum in seipsum taliter desævire! Sed et O indomabilis et infaustus Gallorum populus, qui se mavult manifestæ ultioni subjicere quàm justitiæ obedire!

A. D. 1416.

A lamentation.

CAPITULUM VICESIMUM SECUNDUM.

The king and the emperor hasten towards Calais, &c.

Medio verò tempore quo hæc agerentur imperator iter proripuit Cantuariam versùs Calesiam. Et rex citò sequebatur ad idem iter pro conventione et personali colloquio cum duce Burgundiæ et ad finaliter concludendum cum eo super certis materiis priùs appunctuatis ex eorum utriusque concilio,[1] pro communicatione etiam cum ambassiatoribus Gallicis ad locum ex condicto venturis, ut si adhuc aliquid ad pacem fieri posset. Et die Veneris infra octabas Assumptionis beatæ Virginis, cùm rex fuit in regressu versùs Cantuariam de Smalhethe in Cantiâ ubi certas naves in faciendo habuerat,[2] recepit desideratissima sibi et jocundissima nova super victoriâ in dicto navali conflictu. Datis igitur Deo gratiis non descendebat ab equo usque hæc nova imperatori Cantuariam detulisset. Et statim eorum utrique qui alter-

21st August.

[1] The Earl of Warwick and a Count of the Roman Empire had previously been to Lisle to arrange preliminaries with the duke. They went in mourning attire (lugubres vestes) on account of the recent death of the Duke of Berry. Notwithstanding, the Duke of Burgundy commanded "festa ludosque" for their amusement, probably "joustes à plaisance." (Livius, p. 29.)

[2] Small-Hythe is upon the River Rother, and was once a much more considerable place than it is at present. The sea washed the town as late as 1509. The inhabitants had the power of burying bodies cast by the sea "infra prædictum oppidum de Smallhyth." (Hasted's Kent, iii. 99.)

A. D. 1416. 21st August.

nas prosperitates ut fratres uterini in opinione omnium ambierunt, ad ecclesiam cathedralem venientes, in hymno "Te Deum laudamus," et aliis placationum libaminibus, Deo dederunt gloriam et honorem qui sic visitavit et fecit redemptionem plebis suæ. Et tunc rex, memor in patriarcharum, judicum, regum et prophetarum historiis toties populum Dei electum cecinisse aliquid in laudem et benedictionem Altissimi, quoties aliquid gratiæ vel victoriæ eis successerat, statuit exindè in Dei laudem et glorificationem mirabilium suorum, ut omni die ante missam solemnem post solitas processionem et litaniam quibus usus est diu ante pro invocando divino auxilio per clericos capellæ suæ inchoaretur solemniter unum responsorium de Trinitate et prosequeretur psalmus. Et post completum psalmum repeteretur responsum cum versu et Gloriâ Patri, videlicet;

The king increased the usual prayers in the chapel, and they are recited.

Die Dominicâ, Psalmus "Cantemus;" Responsum "Summæ Trinitati."

Feriâ secundâ, Psalmus "Jubilate;" Responsum "Benedictus."

Feriâ tertiâ, Psalmus, "Confitemini;" Responsum "Quis Deus."

Feriâ quartâ, Psalmus, "Laudate nomen Domini;" Responsum "Gloria Patri."

Feriâ quintâ, Psalmus, "Benedicite omnia;" Responsum, "Honor virtus."

Feriâ sextâ, Psalmus, "Laudate Dominum de cælis;" Responsum "Tibi laus."

Sabbato, Psalmus, "Exultavit cor meum in Domino;" Responsum "Benedicamus."

Et immediatè post missam etiam fieret memoria solemnis de Trinitate inchoans post versum, "Tibi laus;" antiphona "O beata et benedicta," cum versu et oratione ad altare per sacerdotem celebrantem

missam. Inde consimiliter memoria de Assumptione beatæ Virginis in cujus festo dicta navalis potentia victoriâ cessit Anglis; antiphona, "Ascendit Christus super cælos et præparavit," &c., cum versu et oratione de festo. Et tertiò de Sancto Georgio pugile et protectore nostro; antiphona, "Hic vir despiciens mundum," cum versu et oratione de eodem. Et habuit quotidiè immediatè post completorium sex consimiles memorias solemnes ad quas ferè à primordiis regiminis sui concepta devotio eum compulerat;

A.D. 1416.

Primam, viz. de Trinitate, antiphona "Libera nos" cum versu "Benedicamus Patrem," et oratione "Omnipotens."

Secundam, de Sancto Spiritu; antiphona "Veni Sancte Spiritus," cum versu "Emitte," et oratione "Deus qui corda."

Tertiam, de Sancto Edwardo; antiphona "Ave Sancte Rex Edwarde inter cæli lilia," cum versu "Ora pro nobis," et oratione "Deus qui beatum regem Edwardum."

Quartam, de Sancto Johanne Baptistâ; antiphona "Inter natos," versus "Fuit homo," oratio "Perpetuis nos."

Quintam, de Sancto Georgio; antiphona "Hic est verè martyr," cum versu "Ora pro nobis," oratione "Deus qui nos beati."

Sextam, de sanctâ Maria, ad placitum chori; versus "Ave Maria," oratio "In omni tribulatione."

Et præter secretas contemplationes et preces reconditas inter Deum et se in sacrario pectoris sui, post ostensam clementiam Dei in dicto navali prælio, adjecit his sex memoriis, memorias alias suprascriptas; ut sicut aucta fuerant ei gratiarum dona et victoriarum tituli, sic augeret ipse laudum rependia et

A.D. 1416. carmina triumphorum.[1] In istis incipiens matutina præconia, et in illis terminans serotinas harmonias.

Commendation (of the king). O Deus militum! tibi tenetur[2] Anglia quam tantæ felicitatis et devotionis principe decorasti. Sed et O demeritæ ingratitudinis popule ejus! si non suis exemplis in laudem et honorem Altissimi et de tam gratuito dono ardentiùs solito attendaris. Nam princeps iste postquam sedere ceperat in solio regni sui descripsit sibi Deutronomium legis in volumine pectoris sui, cui Deus de suâ immensâ clementiâ concedat ut illud legat sicut incepit omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, ut discat sic timere Dominum Deum suum et custodire præcepta et ceremonias quæ in lege scripta sunt, ut longo tempore regnet, et filius ejus post eum super populum suum Israel. Inter alia verò laudum præconia quæ ex infusione Sancti Spiritûs reillucent in principe isto, unum est quod tam penès Deum multùm redolet quàm populum universum. Nam à principio suscepti regiminis tam ardenter inhæsit divinis laudibus audiendis et secretis oraculis, quod postquam inchoata fuerant non fuit quispiam etiam de primoribus et optimatibus suis qui mediis interloquiis ea potuit aliquoties dissecare. Non potest igitur universorum judicio tantæ bonitatis et obedientiæ principi à Principe principum quicquid justè petierit denegari. In his bonitatibus suis ad sui et totius Angliæ prosperitatem et pacem proservet, ut perseveret in finem de suâ clementiâ benignitas Salvatoris.

The devotion of the king in hearing the divine offices.

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[1] In the Chronicle of the Schoolmaster of St. Albans, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1502, will be found a list of the masses which King Henry appointed to be said daily, after his decease, for the repose of his soul.

[2] MS. Sloane, 'debetur.'

Capitulum Vicesimum Tertium.

A.D. 1416.

Jam verò ne nimis remotè digredi videar, regredior ad pristinam materiam prosequendam. Nam citò post superscripta nova et resolutas Deo laudes de navali victoriâ, imperator per Dovoriam proripuit iter Calesiam,[1] et clientes sui ut equites exierant Cantuariam, permiserunt à se secretò cadere per vicos et plateas, in magnificentiam et honorem gentis Angligenæ, schedulas plures continentes hæc scripta, "Vale et gaude glorioso cum triumpho, O, tu felix Anglia! Et benedicta quia quasi

The emperor crosses to Calais (the latter end of August).

A N G L I A
Angelica Natura Gloriosa Laude Iesum Adorans es jure dicta:[2]
Hanc tibi do laudem quam recto jure mereris."

Quod eis non minùs quàm nobis crevit ad cumulum dilectionis et laudis quod tam applaudenter et gratuitè beatificare voluerant genus nostrum. Et infra paucos dies post, rex prosecutus est idem iter,[3] sicut priùs disposuerat, ingrediens mare apud Sandwycum quarto die Septembris, circa meridiem, in comitivâ circiter XL navium; et torpente vento dum per ejus amicitiam modicum vel nihil itineris lucrari potuimus usi fluxûs beneficio et remorum tractibus circa

4th Sept.

[1] Previous to the Emperor's departure he signed a treaty of alliance with England, at Canterbury, on the 15th August. During his return the Channel was guarded by a fleet manned with 3000 men under the Baron Carew. (Speed, p. 786.)

[2] For some remarkable specimens of this kind of composition, see the Appendix to Elmham, p. 376.

[3] On the 27th of August the king was informed that the enemy had collected on the sea, and he accordingly sent to Dover and the Five Ports to furnish their quota of ships and men. Upon his departure the king committed the great seal to the care of John Mapilton, who, after it had been used for the pardon of some offenders, took it back to London, and there put it under lock and key in a certain chamber which is minutely described. (Fœdera.)

A. D. 1416. 4th Sept.

horam duodecimam in crastino littora Calesiæ carpebamus. Et nec unquam aura clementiorum in itinere illo vel mare tranquillius videbatur.

They both meet on the shore at Calais.

Et tum imperator instructus de manè super adventu regio, tunc in littore diutinè expectasset ut faciem desideratam regis videret, et rex jam in proximis littori descendisset, uterque eorum in ingenti gaudio ruit in amplexum alterius. Et cùm simul peragratâ urbe colloquia et solatia mutua habuissent ut[1] imperiales celsitudines decuit, tandem valedicto hinc inde, rex se in castrum, imperator in hospitium principis receperunt.

The Archbishop of Rheims comes on the part of the French.

Sequenti verò hebdomadâ venit ex parte Gallicorum Archiepiscopus Remensis, et in suâ comitivâ Vicecomes de Bretteville; qui ad villam, relationem et colloquia regia decenti honore recepti, non permittebantur deinceps exire hospitium nisi per unum de clientibus suis pro emptione victualium, tamen propriis sumptibus, sed non nisi in magistri hospitii comitivâ,[2] ut in hoc non aliter eis fieret quàm nostris ambassiatoribus ultimis factum erat. Et assignati fuerunt dominus comes Dorsetiæ, Capitaneus de Harfleu, qui post navale prælium illuc venerat ac alii domini de concilio, ad videndam potestatem eorum et tractandum cum eis.

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[1] The following important advice was given by the emperor:—

"And to the King thus he said; My brother,
(When he perceived the townes, Calais and Dover,)
Of all your townes to chuse of one and other,
To keep the sea and sooner to come over
To werre outwards and your regne to recover:
Keepe these two townes sure, and your majestée
As your tweyne eyne: so keepe the narrow see."

(Hakluyt, Early Voyages, i. 187, ed. 1599.

[2] The terms "hospitium" and "magister hospitii," being the equivalents of "hôtel" and "maître d'hôtel," raise a presumption that the chronicler was a native of France. The word "hôtel" is still used for the residence of an ambassador.

A.D. 1416.

The arrival of the Duke of Burgundy is expected.

Et tunc ab omnibus expectatur adventus Ducis Burgundiæ, sed pullulavit opinio concilium suum nolle tolerare eum venire absque obsidibus duobus ducibus illustribus et quatuor de comitibus clarissimis Angliæ.[1] Et dum permansit hæc opinio per aliquot dies, venerunt oratores sui, personæ spectabiles,[2] qui liberè et lætanter suscepti ad secreta regia, demum latente omnibus præterquam concilio ad quid venerant, cum responso, vultu hilari, et ut dicebatur non sine exuviis redierunt. Et inter hæc, cùm rex diu secum habuisset suum privatum sigillum, et laborasset vulgus in ambiguo quis præficeretur ad custodiam ejusdem, quibusdam præferentibus voce et velle unum, quibusdam alium, tandem providentia regia, suum secum diu celans secretum consilium, præfecit ad officium illud venerabilem virum Magistrum Henricum Ware, officio curiæ Cantuariensis, virum famosum et in ore populi Deo et hominibus non ignotum, de quo nulla, usque venimus Dovoriam, et tunc nisi modica et multùm ambigua, laboravit opinio.[3] Post recessum verò oratorum Ducis

Of the man-

[1] The truce with the Duke of Burgundy and the powers of Flanders (illi de Flandria) which was about to expire, had lately been agreed to be renewed for twelve months from the 15th June. (Fœdera.) But the English had not forgotten the assistance the duke had given to the Count of St. Pol, nor his own preparations for the siege of Calais in 1404, which had been stopped, much to his annoyance, by the order of the Duke of Orleans. Jean-sans-Peur was the second son of Philip the Bold, and was known during the lifetime of his father as the Count de Nevers. He had been made prisoner at the battle of Nicopolis in 1395, and was ransomed for 200,000 ducats. (Delepierre, Annales de Bruges.)

[2] MS. Sloane, 'speciales.'

[3] Richard Clifford, clerk, had been the Keeper of the Privy Seal. (Privy Seal Writs, State Paper Office. Bund. 1. Hen. V.) Ware had been Chancellor of Canterbury. (Stow's MS. Harl. 530.) He was a member of the Privy Council *ex officio*. He did not long retain the office, for on the 14th October, 1417, we find John Kemps, Keeper of the Privy Seal, appointed, with Thomas Chaucer (son of the poet) and others of the Council, to treat with the dauphin respecting peace. (Rot. Norman. 6 Hen. V. p. 1.)

A.D. 1416.

ner of his arrival.

Burgundiæ, dictum erat eum citò debere venire in equitatu IIIJ^{c} virorum, et debere pro eo in obsidem mitti cum decenti comitatu Dominum Ducem Gloucestriæ, et eos obviare debere utrinque in certo limine, uno veniente versùs Calesiam, et altero progrediente versùs urbem Sancti Omeri, quæ pro ejus receptione tam de comitivâ dominorum et procerum pro vultu faciendo, quàm cæteris humanitatibus et lautitiis dicebatur ut pro receptione alicujus principis satis splendidè præparari.

Capitulum Vicesimum Quartum.

Of the decree (for the meeting) of parliament.

Inter hæc, quidem, rex ex decreto concilii, scripsit pro parliamento inchoando XIX^{o} die Octobris sequentis apud Westmonasterium. Et post ista, die Jovis proximâ post festum Sancti Matthei, visa est, circa primam horam post nonam, una caraca magna adversaria, pleno velo et vento, sulcare medios fluctus inter Calesiam et Dovoriam, dubitantibus cunctis an ad le Sclus vel quorsum aliàs proras verteret. Et statim dominus Warwici, capitaneus, cum stipendiariis villæ, ac dominus le Talbot, Thomas West et Gilbertus Humfrevilla, milites honoris et alii quos movebat humanitas, armatis sex balengers et passagiers,[1] dictam caracam quantùm vela percurrere poterant sequebantur; antequam tamen naves istæ sic se armare poterant et exivissent portum, caraca habens ventum ad velle deseruit visum nostrum.

24th Sept.

News of the capture of a carrack at Dartmouth.

Et diu antè noctem ejusdem diei venerunt nova regi quod mercatores Dertemute unam cepissent caracam de Januâ onustam mercandisis, quam in

[1] Balingers were ships with poops and forecastles, and carried forty mariners. "Passagier" is a French term for a ship's pinnace. (See Chronique de Richard II., p. 83.)

A.D. 1416.

partes illas ventorum violentia, Deo jubente, fortè in iram Januensium quia in dicto navali conflictu favebant Gallicis, evexisset. In crastino verò revenerunt oratores ducis Burgundiæ et facto nuncio infra triduum redierunt, nos in opinione linquentes quod infra octo dies ducem ipsum Calesiis videremus. Et sequente die Sabbati revenit una balenger de his sex qui sequebantur caracam, sed dispersa e sociis primâ nocte caracam non attigit, nescia quò sociæ devenerunt. Et eodem die Sabbati rex et imperator fuerunt in missâ exequiali solemni cum suis proceribus in ecclesiâ beatæ Mariæ pro domino de Morle, qui veniens regi Calesiam sanus et incolumis à bello navali de Harfleu, in multis gratiis et honore propter humanitatem suam in bello illo à rege et omnibus susceptus, citò decubuit, et infrà decimum diem ex acutâ (*pœna* ?) et fluxu sanguinis, in mœrore quasi omni, ad superos convolavit.[1] Die verò dominicâ, alia de societate sex navium prædictarum, vi ventorum à sociis segregata, de lateribus Angliæ in Calesiam portum propellitur, quæ retulit quod in crastino recessûs eorum de Calesiis, viz. die Veneris in aurorâ, dictam attigerunt caracam, quæ in altitudine tabularum erat supra altissimam earum plusquam lanceæ longitudo. Et cùm junctis lateribus, sed multùm imparibus, diutissimè se invicem afflixissent, et pro alterius vicibus retortis navibus, quievissent, et denuò resumptis viribus et rejunctis tabulis, iterùm et iterùm conflixissent usque versùs noctis caligines; tandem consumptis missilibus et invasivis

25th Sept.

26th Sept.

Funeral ceremonies for Lord Morley.

27th Sept.

News of the encounter with the carrack and of its escape.

[1] Thomas Lord Morley, K.G., had been appointed admiral of the fleet that sailed from the Thames to Southampton 6th July. He was the grandson of a distinguished admiral under King Edward III., and had been a Member of Parliament from 1381 to the time of his death. The emperor and the king probably attended his funeral as brother Knights of the Garter.

A.D. 1416. aliis, hinc inde occisis multis de caracâ, non sine aliquibus de nostris, et pluribus utrimque graviter verberatis, dum nostri proximi essent lucrationi dictæ caracæ, ob defectum tamen missilium, scalarum, et invasivorum, desuerunt assultare illam ulteriùs, quæ versùs le Slus recto diametro properavit. Et flante vento contrario non permittente nostros reverti Calesiam, portum proposuerunt petere Orwelleum. Sed sequente nocte surrexit tempestas valida, quâ subitò ab invicem sunt dispersi, nec aliter navis ista scivit de sociis respondere, quæ propter flatuum inclementiam et fluxûs decrescentiam portum intrare non valens, et non audens propter rabiem procellarum repetere mare, in sabulo pellitur, cogens hospites si terram vellent aquæ residuum transvadare.

Of the storm which increased towards night. 28th Sept.

Et in ipsâ tempestate prope noctem ventus ille qui jam per biduum invaluisset insanire cepit in turbinem qui tam mare quàm terram turbavit. Tentorium verò capellæ regis, distentum in planitie ante castrum, confregit et dilaceravit ad medium, et jam tentorium aulæ cum cæteris officiorum contiguis defigere cepit, sic quod nisi fuisset clientium industria concurrentium ad cordas èt refigentium, adhibitâ custodiâ usque in sedatum turbinem, corruisset verisimiliter ædificium conquassatum.[1] In crastino si-

29th Sept.

[1] The position of Henry's tent "before the camp," in the post of honour and of danger, was similar to that of the King of Macedon before the Grecian camp; when awaiting the attack of the Romans in the passes of Epirus: "Tabernaculum regium *pro vallo*, in conspectu maximè tumulo, ut terrorem hostibus, suisque spem ex fiduciâ faceret, positum." (Livy, book xxxii. ch. 5.) 20*l.* was paid "for the carriage of tents ornamented with gold and cloth of arras, with hangings and sides of arras, &c., for our Lord the King and the Emperor to dwell in at Calais during the time of their stay there." (Pell Issue Rolls, 29th July, 4 Hen. V.)

The reader who is curious to enter into the spirit of the age, will find a list of the subjects embroidered on the arras amongst the schedule of Henry's property in Rot. Parl. iv. 214 to 241, with

A. D. 1416.

quidem venit alia navis socia præcedentium, et nuncia salvationis cæterarum in lateribus Angliæ, quæ vi ventorum illuc citiùs quàm voluit jactabatur. Quæ et in vultu magno, sicut et aliæ, penè sine victualibus exiens Calesiam revenit confecta triduano jejunio, et hoc idem satis sobriè de sociis testabatur. In crastino siquidem Michaelis, revenit dominus Warwici cum residuis navibus, et tunc verbum habuimus verum priùs obscurum quod cecidit ante conflictum in propriâ navi præfatus Thomas West, miles juvenis sapidus et formosus. Nam cùm in viciniâ caracæ fuerat et se armare ceperat ad radicem mali, lapis tractus properè versùs mali verticem, à continenti illabitur nudo capiti simul cum ultione sed mortali;[1] adeptus est tamen Angliam pridiè quàm spiritus exhalavit. Cujus mors ob speratam futuram probitatem et strenuitatem, juvenis mœstitiam multis incussit. Juvenis iste fuit hæres Domini de la Warre,[2] et nupsit filiæ et hæredi domini de Sancto Amando, quam tamen simul cum successoriâ prole parùm antè mors extinxerat; habuit nihilominus ipse hæredem dominum Reginaldum fratrem minorem innuptum. Omisimus verò in conflictu dominum Baldewinum Straunge, bonum militem, sed paucos alios, Deo gratias.

30th Sept.

Sir Thomas West fell.

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an estimate of the value of each piece, for they were very costly. One of Henry's spice plates was valued at the enormous sum of 702*l*. 5*s*. The subjects of the tapestry were either historical or legendary: as,

"L'estorie de Sire Percyvall,
Le Octavian Roye de Rome,
Chist Roys Gyngebras nomme,
Sus Haukyn namtelet,
De Seint George, qui commence
en l'escripture des lettres d'or
'Geaus est Angles;'"

or the words of some amorous tale; as,

"Vessi [vees cy] amour souvient,
D'une dame qui harpe ung note,
Comment Bevis de Hampton
priot a Yozaine."

[1] MS. Sloane, 'lethali.'

[2] This family derived their title from Wickwar (Vicus Varii) in Gloucestershire; and thus the state of Delaware in America is named after an unknown Roman and an obscure village. Vicus, too, is clearly the Saxon "wick."

Capitulum Vicesimum Quintum.

A. D. 1416.

3rd Oct. A well-founded expectation of the arrival of the Duke of Burgundy: the departure of the Archbishop of Rheims also.

Sequenti verò Sabbato receptis certis familiaribus ducis Burgundiæ prævenientibus pro Domino eorum ad hospitia et apparamenta videnda, et quibusdam de clientibus ducis nostri Gloucestriæ egredientibus versùs Sanctum Omerum ad consimile faciendum pro eo; cùm jam dicta opinio de ducis adventu erat in viciniâ veritatis, Archiepiscopus Remensis, quem dux ipse dicebatur diù ante exosum habere letali odio, dimittebatur cum suis redire ad propria, conductus per stipendiarios villæ usque in marchias Boloniæ. Sed nihil priùs operatus saltèm publicatum præter treugarum inducias ad proxima purificationis solemnia per mare, à columnis Herculis, scilicèt Straites de Marrok, usque ad regnum Norwegiæ inclusivè, et per terram particulares in West Flandriâ et Picardiâ usque ad aquam Summæ, pro utrisque et utriusque partium alligatis. Et nocte sequenti horâ secundâ post medium silentium excitatis in clangore buccinæ stipendiariis ad hoc assignatis, dux noster Gloucestriæ cum illis et aliis obsequialibus dominorum quos moveret appetitus ad videndum spectaculum in armorum munitionibus melioribus unà cum propriis familiaribus deputatis ad iter, sed inermibus[1] horâ quartâ egressus est urbem, attingens brachium marinum de Gravenyng inter horam sextam et septimam, cùm jam detinuisset salsus fluvius et littora usque ad recentis aquæ alveolum exsiccassent. Et constituto duce nostro inter medios familiares ad iter in crepidine vadi quo erat ultrà alveum transiturus, ordinatis stipendiariis et gente armigerâ seorsùm à latere

4th Oct. The duke himself comes, and how the Duke of Gloucester is sent as a hostage, &c.

[1] So at the interview between Richard II. and Charles VI. at Lelinghen, it was forbidden to the followers of either king to carry arms. (Monk of St. Denys.)

A. D. 1416.

in circiter octingentis viris. Demùm postquam custos privati sigilli ac dominus le Camoys et Robertus Waterton, armiger honoris et venerandæ senectutis, et staturæ inter omnes utriusque terræ,[1] præmissi in villam ad colloquia ducis, liberassent et recepissent securitates et conductus mutuos vallitos[2] cartis, juramentis et aliis solemniis priùs appunctuatis per utrumque consilium, revenissent; dux ipse egressus est oppidum et se statuit cum familiaribus suis assignatis ad iter in adversum ducis nostri, gente suâ armigerâ seorsùm in oppositum nostræ et consimiliter ut nostrâ à littore[3] constitutâ. Et post aliquantam stationem præmisit dux ipse familiares suos assignatos ad partem nostram ultrà alveum. Et consimiliter fecit dux noster de suis ad suam. Et cùm deinceps aliquantisper soli stetissent utrique principes, tandem dux Burgundiæ cepit passim prosilire ultrà crepidinem arentis alvei versùs ducem nostrum. Et consimiliter dux noster progreditur versùs eum usque obviassent utrimque in medio alveolo dulcis aquæ. Et tunc datis manibus, vultu, verbis et valedicto mutuis, receptus est dux noster ab aliâ parte per comitem de Ffoys,[4] filium et hæredem alterius.

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[1] Robert of Waterton was a devoted adherent to the house of Lancaster. He had joined Henry's father during his banishment in France, returned with him when he landed at Ravensburg, and was shortly afterwards created Master of the Horse. The custody of King Richard at Pomfret Castle was committed to him, and he was still governor of that castle in November, 1415; for Henry V. wrote to him to send up the goods of the late Lord Scrope, executed at Southampton. (MS. Donat. 4601, art. 161.) On the 12th April 1420, he wrote to his Sovereign from "your aune logge of Metheleye," (near Pontefract,) which letter he concludes by beseeching God to send him into his own realm of England "with a joyous maryage, and a gude pees, for his mykill mercy." (Fœdera). See Chron. de Ric. II. p. 289.

[2] MS. Sloane, 'vallatos,' apparently, 'confirmed, made valid.'

[3] Idem 'latore.'

[4] The young Count de Foix was not a son of the Duke of Burgundy, nor would he have

A.D. 1416. Et alter ex nostrâ parte per comitem Sarum, noster in ducentis equis et alius in cccc^{tis}. Unus versùs Sanctum Omerum, alius versùs Calesiam, præcedente proprio comitatu et populo armigero quasi ad custodiam subsequente. Et obviaverunt duci Burgundiæ propè Calesiam dominus Warwici, capitaneus villæ et Thomas Erpyngham, senescallus hospitii regii,[1] qui ipsum ad hospitium præparatum pro eo, jam percutiente horâ xi^{a}. per urbis medium, conduxerunt. Et horâ tertiâ post nonam, mitigatâ priùs, ut dicebatur per regem, antiquâ querelâ inter imperatorem

5th Oct.

He went to the emperor and then to the king.

been present at Calais, as he had on the previous December joined the Armagnac party, having previously fought against them. He had distinguished himself at a very early age at the siege of Lourd, in Bigorre, against the English. (L'Art de ver. les Dates.) The party intended by our author is the Count de Charolois, afterwards Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, who, as Monstrelet relates, received the Duke of Gloucester. It was the Count de Charolois who had possession of Henry's richly ornamented sword, captured at Agincourt.

[1] This gallant soldier, who, by throwing his baton into the air, gave the signal for the commencement of the battle of Agincourt, and who led on the troops although he was hoary with age, ("tout chanu de viellese," Denis Sauvauge, Chron. de Flandres, p. 241,) was another devoted adherent to the House of the Red Roses, and had also sailed with Henry IV. from Vannes under the command of Sir Peter de Craon. (Chron. of the Betrayal of Ric. II. p. 289.) He was created by Henry IV. Captain of Dover and the Cinque Ports, which appointment he resigned in 1409 in favour of Prince Henry, when he became Master of the Household. To the friends of Richard II. he shewed a degree of ferocity which has left a stain upon his character. His treatment of Sir Thomas Blount, at his execution, was cruel and revolting in the extreme. (Idem. p. 245.) We also find him presiding at most of the other executions of the time, and particularly at Sir John Oldcastle's. (Hargrave, State Trials.) He does not appear to have joined in Henry's second campaign, and in March, 1419, he was at Norwich; for, in reply to a command from Henry to select eight knights or esquires to go abroad on the king's service, he wrote him word that he could find none, for the most able men of the country were already abroad in the king's service. (Acts of Privy Council, ii. 246.) Henry V. created him a Knight of the Garter, and gave him, in 1420, a share of the manors of Aldeby and Hokeryng, and of a fishery in Hengham, called Somere, in the County of Norfolk. (Privy Seal Writs, Tower, 7th February, 7 Hen. V.)

A.D. 1416.

et eum, et paratâ viâ, accessit ad imperialem præsentiam. In quo accessu cùm adeptus esset ejus aspectum et fecisset duas inclinationes accedendo, et jam de prope ferè in terram tertiam obtulisset, noluit imperator, sed à statione prosiliens eum per brachia sustulit et à latere collocavit. Et sumptis inde speciebus vultu et valedicto, accessit ad regem in castrum. Qui conductus in majorem cameram receptus est à rege per omnia ut apud imperatorem juxtà illorum relata qui utrique accessui affuerunt. Inde ductus in secretiorem cameram usque in crepusculum noctis cum rege solo in mysterio concilii occupatur.

8th Oct. Of the treaty, and conclusion between the king and the duke.

Et cùm deinceps in communione et tractatibus triduum occupassent, die Jovis rex fecit sibi et optimatibus suis convivium grande, extra castrum in tentoriis. Et emensis inde quatuor diebus in communicatione silentissimâ, sequenti die Martis uterque dux, noster, viz. Gloucestriæ et ipse Burgundiæ consimiliter ut à propriis adducti sunt, ad propria reducuntur. Qualem verò conclusionem hæc mystica colloquia et communicationes fuerint operata ultrà pectus regium vel taciturnitatem concilii, non transivit.[1] Scio qui scribo quod opinio populi dat eum tenuisse regem nostrum toto isto tempore in amphi-

13th Oct.

[1] According to the French chroniclers, Henry urged the duke to sign a treaty of alliance, offering him a share of the conquests he should make in France; but the duke resisted his most pressing solicitations, and limited himself to a confirmation of the truce which prohibited his subjects from bearing arms against England, which was what, as a vassal of France, he had no right to do. The duke also did homage to the emperor for the lordship of Alost, which belonged to the empire. (Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne.) The authors of 'L'Art de ver. les Dates' assert that the treaties given in the Fœdera were mere blank forms which were never executed, and that after the interview with Henry, the duke repaired to the dauphin at Valenciennes, and promised to aid him and his father against England. There appears to be some reason for the suspicion of our author as to the sincerity of the duke, for in the spring of the following year a paper was drawn up by the king or council, which is thus entit-

A. D. 1416. boliis et ambagibus, et sic reliquisse, et quod finaliter more omnium Gallicorum invenietur duplex: unus in publico et alius in occulto. Caveat tamen sibi ne dum conetur sub duplici facie seducere Abner, ut in gladio Salomonis moriatur. Post recessum verò ejus, rex præparavit se ad regressum in Angliam, et imperator per mare ad Dordryght[1] versùs propria: et jam nihil ab utrisque nisi ventus benevolus expectatur, in finali tamen desperatione pacis inter nos et Gallos, si non in ore gladii. Et imperator multùm displicenter tulit frustrationem laborum suorum pro eis; sed tamen non minùs gloriabatur in actibus regis nostri quàm detestabatur factiones et decipulas Gallicorum. Nec fuit secretum quantumcunque mysticum quod unus celavit ab alio: et nec credit universitas populi, Deo laudes, quod major confidentia vel affectio inter duos Christianos principes unquam fuit. Et redolet affirmatio officiariorum regiorum qui erant in ministerio circà eum, nec non et universi populi quod non creditur esse possibile meliorem aut benigniorem principem, seu cum mansuetiori vel gratiori familiâ unquam intrare vel intrasse Angliam, aut in majori honore et amore omnium ab illâ discedere vel discedisse. Cùmque veniente proximo die Veneris, blandiente nobis aurorâ, simul cum tempore et vento prospero rex descendisset ad littus, deducente eum imperatore, et post multas datas utrimque licentias et amplexus mutuos sæpiùs repetitos, et vix in lacrymis separabiles prop-

The king and the emperor prepare to return to their homes.

Commendation of the emperor and his suite.

Of the king's return to England, and the tempest. 16th Oct.

led:—"The causes why þat þe king disposeþ hym to trete wiþ þe dauphine ayeinst þe Duc of Bourg[ne]. been þese þat ffoloweþ."—(MS. Donat. 4601, art. 154.)

[1] The Emperor was not willing to trust himself in the Duke of Burgundy's dominions. He requested four members of the duke's family as hostages, which the duke said he did not think was a proper demand, but he offered him a safe-conduct. The weather, however, moderating, the Emperor preferred returning by sea. (Livius, p. 29.)

ter amoris vehementiam, ascendisset navem, vela laxavimus versùs Dovoriam. Sed nondum itineris quartam peregimus, usque cælum obducebatur nubibus, infremuit aer, propellebantur ad vela venti, imber descendit furiosus intermixtus grandine cum tantâ austeritate quod quasi omnia consumeret minabatur; sic quod tam nautæ quàm nauclerus de propriis artificiis desperati proposuissent totum commisisse Neptuno. Et nunc ex insaniâ procellarum mare erumpebat in montes scopulosos, nunc mansuescente cælo in pristinam redigebatur planitiem, et nùnc invalescente interim turbine in elationes mirabiles denùo movebatur; jamque minabatur in terram hostium nos propellere, jam ad propria commeare, modò ignota maris quærere discrimina, modò in abruptis rupium anchorare. Et in tali inclementiâ turbinum laboravimus vexati usque ad noctis tenebras ab invicem separati. Sed tunc qui imperat procellis et mari post has mirabiles elationes maris, mirabilior in altis Dominus, statuit procellam in auram et siluerunt fluctus ejus. Sub sereno quidem sidere sed frigore vehementi. Et quidam eâ tempestate dispersi in lateribus Angliæ pro majori parte noctis requieverunt in anchoris, quidam in discriminibus gurgitis navigantes per totam noctem, erecta carbasa tenuerunt. Sed Deo largiente, in crastino rex et quidam nostrum de manè, quidam in ulteriori die, omnes salvi portum pertigimus adoptum, Deum benedicentes in donis suis quod regem nostrum et nos dignatus est à tantis periculis liberare.

A.D. 1416.

17th Oct.

Sequenti verò die Lunæ inceptum est parliamentum apud Westmonasterium, et pronunciatum per venerabilem patrem episcopum Wintoniensem Angliæ cancellarium, qui recitavit inter alia de præcedentibus tractatibus exactissimis per tot illustrissimos tractatores elaboratis, pro justitiâ et pace per-

Parliament meets 19th Oct.

A.D. 1416. petuâ inter duo regna tam diutinè affectatis, et quod quia justa pax nullo tractatûs medio acquiri poterat, non videbatur aliud quàm ad divinum judicium pro executione gladii iter convolare, et pro hâc executione eorum opportunum consilium simul cum opere et operâ fore necessariò requirenda.[1] Et dum ul-

The king repeats his

[1] Although this parliament voted Henry two-tenths from the clergy, and two-tenths and two-fifteenths from the laity, yet the king was obliged to pawn his crown to his uncle, the Bishop of Winchester, for a vast sum; and on the 18th July following he gave him security for 14,000*l.* upon the subsidies and customs of the Port of Southampton. (Privy Seal Writs, Tower, 5th Hen. V.) The bishop's *exigeance* cost him the chancellorship in the following July. After his fall he visited Basle, and induced the pope to create him cardinal and apostolic legate in England; but Henry V. never allowed him to exercise the office or assume the title, nor was he acknowledged cardinal till 1426. In the meantime he employed himself in raising an army of 500 lancers and 5000 archers to oppose the Hussites in Bohemia; but Henry, aware of his love of money, bribed him to allow that force to join him in France. (Lord Campbell, Lives of the Chanc. i. 337.) He, however, was appointed captain-general of the forces raised in Germany against the Hussites and Calixtians, in which command the Cardinal Julianus was associated with him. At their request the emperor and states had appointed three armies to subdue the *heretics*, but after a long and fruitless warfare against that brave and conscientious people, Julianus wrote thus to Eugenius IV.: "Non visum hostes fugerunt. Nonne videbitur hic digitus Dei?... Videbitur miraculum Dei evidenter, demonstrans illos vera sentire,—nos falsa." (Æneas Silvius, Op. Basil, 1571, Hist. Bohem., quoted in Jewel's Works, ed. Parker Society.)

The principal nobles became surety for money borrowed upon the credit of the subsidy (Rot. Parl. iv. 96), and the following circular appears to have been issued at this time:—

"De par le Roy

Tres cher et foial. Come pur la defence de cest n're roiaume Dangleterre et a la conservation de n're corone de Ffraunce nous concevons necessaire [*illegible*] ..... hast dune notable somme de monoy a nous apprestier par ceulx qui en n're necessite nous veullent aider et monstrer amour, vous prions si bien .... en cest n're necessite prendre vous veulliez la plus pres que bonement faire le purriez, en nous eidant a cest foiz par voie daprest de la some de C livres [*doubtful*] ...... tresorer Dangleterre a Loundres, lui quel vous fera avoir tiel suretee pur v're repaiement as briefs termes par auct'ite de n're p'lement ...... chose p'ndre veuillez au cuer, sanz nous en faillir, come vous desirez la bien de nous et nos ditz roiaumes.

Don' souz n're prive seel a West' ......"

(Privy Seal Writs, State Paper Office, Bund. 1 Hen. V.)

A.D. 1416

teriùs progrederetur in eodem parliamento et veniret tandem festum Sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani, in quo festo, anno revoluto, Deus ostendisset Angliæ suam clementiam contrà rebellem Gallorum populum in Agincort, rex, non immemor divinæ bonitatis, iteravit laudes sibi in hymno, "Te Deum laudamus," decantato in capellâ suâ solemniter ante missam. Et circa finem parliamenti revenerunt officiarii regii qui conduxerunt imperatorem ad propria, non sine immensâ liberalitate munerum, de quâlibet vel consimilibus, saltèm pro obsequiis tam modici temporis et gradibus recipientium, ætas nostra non meminit audivisse.[1] Reportaruntque tantum honorem de ipso et suis quantum possibile est dici de principe vel populo Christiano. Finiebat verò parliamentum die Veneris xx°. die Novembris in creatione nobilis illius comitis Dorsetiæ in ducem Exoniensem, propter illustrissimos labores et agones suos pro regno et re-publicâ intùs et extrà, datis sibi literis regiis patentibus super statu ducis et dotatione ut patet in codice recordorum. Finiebat etiam in conclusione irrefragabilis propositi regii transfretandi proximâ æstate ad retundendam obstinatam et plusquàm adamantinam duritiam Gallicorum, quam nec lac caprinum demulcens, nec vinum ultionis devorans, nec exactissimi tractatus poterunt emollire. Et det Deus de suâ clementissimâ bonitate, ut sicut rex noster sub ipsius protectione et judicio de hostibus publicis coronæ suæ jam bifariè triumphavit, sic et adhuc tertiò triumphet, ut uterque et Francorum et Angliæ gladius in debitam redeat monarchiam, à

Thanksgivings for the victory at Agincourt.

The officers of the king return from the emperor with gifts.

20th Nov. The session of parliament ends with the creation of the Earl of Dorset to be Duke of Exeter;

also, concerning the king's intention to cross the sea.

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[1] The emperor presented the Duke of Gloucester, Sir John Tiptoft, and many other English knights who attended him, with 1000 crowns in gold. (Speed, p. 786.) Henry had previously given great and royal presents to the emperor and his nobles. (Livius.)

A. D. 1416. propriâque devoratione cesset, et vertatur quàm citiùs in indomitas et cruentas facies paganorum!

Prayer. Et, O altitudo divitiarum sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei! concede de tuâ ineffabili misericordiâ ut requiescat super regem nostrum spiritus Domini, spiritus sapientiæ et intellectûs, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiæ et pietatis, et repleat eum spiritus timoris Domini, sicut incepit ut custodiat judicia et justitias ejus usque in finem, ut de eo dicere poterimus cum prophetâ, "Etenim servus tuus custodit ea, in custodiendis illis retributio multa!" Amen.

FINIS GESTORUM REGIS AUCTORE CAPELLANO.

A.D. 1417.

IN quinto anno quibuscunque guerræ in proximo futuro commodiferis providentiâ discretâ, modo congruo et curâ immensâ paratis, principes et magnates qui actuum bellicorum et circumspectæ sapientiæ præclaris relucent titulis per ipsum regem capitanei et præfecti, sagaci decreto, ut suâ prudentiâ ductrice aliorum cursus dirigant, ordinantur.[1] Erant enim viri expediti ad arma XVJ. millia CCCC.;[2] classis for-

Preparations for a campaign.*

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* For the remainder of the marginal notes the editor is responsible.

[1] The following extract from a contemporary MS. furnishes some curious particulars :—

"And whanne the Kyng had thus donne and sette all thynge in his kynde, on Seint Mark's Day that was that tyme hokketewysday, (Hock-tide commenced on St. Mark's day, the 25th April, the second Sunday after Easter,) he toke his horse at Westmynster and come rydyng to Poulles, and there he offered and toke his leve, and so rode forth thurgh the cite, takyng his leve of all maner peple as well of pore as of riche, praying them all in generall to pray for hym. And so he rode forth to Seint Georges, and there he offred, and toke his leve of the Maire chargyng hym to kepe well his chamber. And so rode furth to (*South*) Hampton, and there abode to his retenue were redy and comen, for there was all his navye of shippis with his ordinance gadred and well stuffed, as longed to such a ryall Kyng, with all maner of vitailles for such a ryall peple, as well for hors as for man as longed for such a warrioure, that is for to say, armire, gonnes, tripgetes, engynes, sowes, bastiles, brigges of lether, scalyng ladders, malles, spades, shovelles, pykeys, paveys, bowes and arowes, bowe stringis, tonnes, chestis and pipes full of arowes (as neded for suche a worthy werrior) that nothing was to seche whanne tyme come. Thyder come to hym shippes lade with gonstones and gonnpowder, and whan this was redy and his retinue come, the kyng and his lordes with all his ryall host went to shippe and toke the see and sailden in to Normandie, and londed at Touque upon the Lamasse day than nexist. And there he made xliij knyghts at his londyng."—(Cotton. MS. Claud. A. viii. fol. 5.)

[2] A copy of the original muster-roll for nearly 8000 men is given in the Appendix. It is to be regretted that the muster-roll for the eastern and northern districts has not been discovered. That now given is for the southern and western districts, and is probably the most complete document of the kind in existence.

A.D. 1417. tissima navium mille quingentarum in varios portus juxta Hamptoniam.

July. A Genoese fleet off Harfleur.

Sed medio tempore Januenses cum suis dromonibus et liburnis optato vento abyssum transvolant, et in partes ipsas quibus marina flumina Secanæ fluminis evomuntur, eâ intentione ibidem non procul ab oppido de Harfleu, anchoris amplexu tenaci profundas arenas stringentibus monticulosa classis funibus rudentibus validis stabilitur, ut et quæcunque inclusis infra dictum oppidum per sua conamina prohiberent succursum.[1] Dum hujusmodi rei veritas regiæ nobilitatis apud Hamptoniam pro suæ classis transfretatione veraci relatu insonaret auribus, statim Comitem Huntyngdoniæ cum classe competenti viris nobilibus oneratâ inimicarum captivam navium disposuit transmittendum. Comes cum suis assignatis naves intrant, evulsis anchoris et prospero vento velis imbutis à portubus evolant velocissimo raptu faciem transcurrunt abyssi; tandemque naves adversas, altarum turrium similitudinem gerentes, aspiciunt, et commodiori tramite versùs eas totis nisibus festinant. Nec mora, naves armiferæ raptissimo occurrunt occursu; catenarum, rudium et rudentium fortium conjugantur fœdere. Præfati comitis nobilitas hostes præ aliis aggreditur. Lethalis conflictûs primitiæ utrumlibet persolvuntur. Prorarum puppes rumpuntur concussu, et cum armatis quos continet, discinctæ à navium corporibus in maria submerguntur: undæ sanguinis effusi tinguntur murice et dirâ morte, longæva pugna magna

The Earl of Huntingdon attacks them,

[1] The Genoese cross-bowmen who manned the enemy's dromons and carracks, had been paraded two and two through Paris, where they made a grand display. They were armed with "brigandines, salades et arbalestres." (Juvénal des Ursins.) From their cross-bows they shot a species of short arrow, called a "vireton," which revolved as it flew.—(Godefroy.)

A.D. 1417.

pars æstivalis diei indulgebat mortibus. Tandem verò post longa luctamina Martia, naves adversarias tam graves insultus, lethalia vulnera et stragem continuam non valentes sufferre, Anglica nobilitas ascendit, hostes captivos ducit, majoresque ipsarum licèt difficili auditu subjungit et captivat. Aliæ verò, ventorum se committentes flatibus, vix velocissimo navigio Anglorum evaserunt impetus. Adepto igitur tam glorioso triumpho, comes venerabilis, cum conquestis regem adhuc apud Hamptoniam expectantem quàm citò potuit, adire festinat. Regia quoque inflexibilis constantia, ipso comite proùt decuit honorificè suscepto, gratiarum actionibus Largitori victoriæ persolutis, ad congruam dispositionem classis suæ, in proximo marina sulcaturæ viscera, se divertit.

boards and captures them.

Et xxiij°. die mensis Julii navem suam apparatu nobili insignem ingreditur, cujus carbasa, multiplici picturarum decorata armorum Angliæ et Franciæ artificio spectabili, intuentium aspectibus tam blanditia quàm stupida rutilant intextura.[1] Et brevi transacto tempore in portum quendam juxta Touk secundùm intentionem regiam est deductum. Rex verò absque gravitate hostilis resistentiæ primo die Augusti in partes Normannias juxta castrum de Touk prædictum gloriosè cum suis applicuit, et persolutis Deo ex tantâ expeditione actionibus gratiarum, plures proceres ad hoc aptissimos, viz.

23d July. The king embarks at Southampton.

Lands near Touque Castle 1st August.

[1] The sail of the ship called "La Salle du Roy," was painted with Henry's badge of the ostrich feathers amongst stars (Elmham); that of the "Katherine of the Tower," with an antelope climbing up a beacon, another of Henry's badges. (Roll of Foreign accounts, temp. Hen. V.)—In addition to the royal arms emblazoned on the sail, another of the King's ships, in which was the royal chamber, the "Cog John," was distinguished by bearing on the top of the mast a crown and sceptre, with the royal crest, the lion of England crowned. Her capstan was ornamented with three fleur-de-lys.—(Nicolas' Royal Navy, ii. 446.)

A. D. 1417. XLVIIJ. ad militaris dignitatis honores promovit.[1] Et non multum à latere pelagi in quibusdam domunculis persona regia cum suis hospitabantur domesticis; aliis quoque exercitûs sui partibus, secundùm quod acierum ordo poposcerat, hinc et indè per ampla ruris spatia assignabantur hospitia. Prudentia regalis, nolens tantam classem suam ultra quam opportunitas exigebat, inutilis more subire dispendium, ab omnibus quæ per arida congruè poterunt devehi, naves suas exonerari coegerat, et exoneratas confestim versùs Angliam redire permisit.[2] Et tunc cum suis usque in villam de Touk removebat, cujus castrum notabile, murorum, lacuum et munimine multum forte, nobilitate serenissimi principis ducis Clarenciæ præsidentis, compositione super succursu fortassis priùs habitâ, nono die Augusti in manus regis reddebatur.[3] Hoc erat primum castrum hujus conquestûs. Tunc præfatus dux Clarenciæ usque ad Cadomum viris stipatus nobilibus est præmissus, ut præclusos usque adventum regis ab exitu præpediret, et amœnissima villæ suburbia ædificiis honestissimè decorata ab incendii dispendio liberaret,

Sends back the greater part of his fleet.

Touque Castle surrenders, 9th August.

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[1] The castle was situated near the efflux of the river Touque, from which it derived its name, near to which is the modern town of Trouville. One of Henry's first acts was to appoint his brother, the Duke of Clarence, constable of the army. His patent is dated from Touque, on August 1st.—(Rot. Norman. 5 Hen. V. m. 1.)

[2] A list of the ships with the names of their masters is preserved in Hardy's Norman Rolls, pp. 321—329.

[3] Henry wrote to the mayor and aldermen of the City of London from Touque Castle, "on the even of Saint Lawrence, about mid-day" (9th August), announcing the surrender of the place. (Archives of the City of London.) The lieutenant (*commis*), called Bon-enfant, who, in the absence of the captain, Sir Jean d'Angennes, surrendered the castle without striking a blow, was beheaded by the French. Henry is said to have laid siege to Honfleur, and to have been repulsed after having invested the place for three weeks, during which time his men suffered much from the fire of the enemy's cross-bows. (Juvénal des Ursins.)

A. D. 1417.

et sic tam suburbia quàm abbatiam Sancti Stephani remanebant indestructa. Quam abbatiam rex cum suis die XVIIJ° mensis Augusti intravit, et pro se et suis per obsidionis tempora statuit hospitandam. Dux Clarenciæ in parte ex opposito et remotiori suam custodiam elegit, nec erat villæ pars ulla quæ à nobilibus remanserat non obsessa; operosa verò diligentia regalis incepta negotia quam citiùs posset ad finem aptum intendens deducere, in scalis, rotis provehendis et aliis invisis ordinationibus, pro insultu futuro paratis, quo sensu viguit demonstrabat. Sed quid immoror? Non absque sudoris guttulis scalæ per villæ circuitum adducuntur ad mœnia, et apud omnes villæ partes simul sæviebat insultus. Sed quia inclusi in ipsam partem quæ se regalibus directiùs oppositam exhibebat hospitiis, majorem et nobiliorem multitudinem Anglorum confluxuram ad insultum timebant, ad easdem præ cæteris præservandas, quasi omnium nobilium quàm numero quàm virtute omni studio anhelabant. Sic pars utraque licet pugnare famelicâ pugnâ per longa durante tempora saturatur; tandem nobilis dux Clarenciæ, cujus nobilitas præconium marcescere fama vetat, hostilibus fugatis summitates murorum ascendens, et in villam jam Martialibus furiis subjiciendam exsiliens cum suis, sanguinis sitibundis, agminibus, quantâ nobilitate vigebat in armis in hostes regios strage ferocissimâ jam probarat; ipsos enim quos rebelles in plateis invenit in ore trucidantis gladii æterno sopore sopivit.[1] Tandem pons capitur, et

18th August. The king lodges at St. Stephen's Abbey near Caen,

and besieges the city.

[1] Rous, the biographer of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, claims for his patron the honour of having been the first to enter the breach. A pictorial representation of the siege is thus headed:—"How Erle Richard in the warres of Ffraunce took Denfront and entered first into Cane; but inasmoche as he was there with and undre Lord Thomas Duc of Clarence, the kynges next brother, he sette on the walle the

A. D. 1417. utraque pars villæ per ipsum ducem occupatur, et plures quibus felix arrisit fortuna captivi ducuntur. Demum vero rex captæ villæ fores ingrediens, et coopertas plateas cadaveribus hostium occisorum aspiciens, nec inanis elationis tumorem concipit, sed aliis prædis et spoliis vacantibus ad ecclesiam Sancti Petri, ibidem gratias Deo pro tantâ victoriâ relaturus, directiori tramite properabat.[1] Et post pauca inter custodes castelli et regis magnificentiam est conclusum, quod, nisi ante signata tempora per Gallicorum potentiam remota fuerit obsidionis angustia, castellum in manus regias redderetur.[2] Et xx°. die mensis Septembris, cùm castri custodes nullis forinsecùs consolarentur auxiliis secundùm quod pactum fuerat, omnia perficere se disponunt, cum bonis à castello recesserunt, et Anglici per regem deputati in ejus custodiam intraverunt.[3]

Caen is taken by assault, 4th Sept.

The castle surrenders, 20th Sept.

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kynges armys and the dukes, and made cry 'A Clarence! A Clarence!' And then entred the duke and gave the erle many greet thanks." (Cott. MS. Julius E. iv. p. 219.)

[1] Ducarel, in his interesting Tour through Normandy, remarks that Caen Castle reminded him of that at Rochester. Elmham and the following French Chronicle alike mention the large bombards which Henry brought with him to the siege of Caen, by the concussion of whose fire the windows of the neighbouring abbey were broken. Some of the cannon used in this reign were of brass, and cast at Worcester. (Acts of P. Council, ii. p. 339.) Sir John Rothenale, Treasurer at War, received wages for sixteen miners from Liège, whom Henry employed at the Siege of Caen. (Pell Issue Rolls, 15th July, 5 Hen. V.) The walls of the town were undermined, and the wooden supports being set on fire, the mines fell in and the city walls were shaken. The enemy threw quicklime, boiling-water and lead upon the assailants, from which they suffered intensely. (Livius.) On the 6th of September Henry wrote to the mayor and aldermen of London, announcing that he had taken Caen by assault on the feast of the translation of St. Cuthbert (4th Sept.) and "with right little death of our people." (Archives of London.)

Elmham's long description of this siege is little else than a repetition of the chaplain's account of the siege of Harfleur.

[2] See note [2], page 30.

[3] "And under this composiciōn was the toune and the castell of Baious (Baieux) with other tounes fortresses and villages to the nomber of xiiij. Upon the

Civitas Lexoviensis per Anglos capitur. Castrum de Newley Anglorum industriâ subjugatur :[1] immò jam milites Anglici obtentâ licentiâ per magnum circuitum munitiones capere non desistunt, quibus regalis discretio politica viros nobilitate præditos ut in ipsorum regimen et tutelam præessent, et ut ab hostili incursu defenderent ordinavit. Deinde ordinavit et constituit ut quicunque vellent devenire regi homines ligei, et ejus ditioni, prout justitia suadebat, subjici, forent ex gratioso regis favore admissi.[2] Nec mora, ad tantam regis gratiam acceptandam quasi totius patriæ, tam proceres ibidem morantes quàm cives, burgenses et villani, ut se homines ligeos regi offerrent, jocundo confluxerunt

A. D. 1417. September. Lisieux is captured.

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hyll before the castell of Cane, oure kyng pyght all his tentys, that seemed a toune as moche as Cane. . . . . And the kyng commanded hem for to put oute all the French men and women, and no man [be] so hardy to defoule no woman, ne take no maner goode away from hem, but lette passe in peas, [under] payne of deth." (MS. Cott. Claud. A. viii.)

Before Henry left Caen he caused the mortal remains of Sir Edmund Springe, who fell at the storming of the breach, to be honourably interred near to the tomb of William the Conqueror. (Walsingham.)

From Caen the king wrote to the Bishop of Durham, Chancellor, on the 22nd of September, ordering him to proclaim, "that all manner of men that would bring victuals to our town of Caen for the refreshing of our host in our Duchy of Normandy should pay therefore no custom, so that they found sufficient surety that the said victuals should not be carried elsewhere." (Letters Missive, Tower of London.)

[1] Lisieux, Noviomagus Lexoviorum, the former capital of the Lexovii, and the castle of Creully.

At Lisieux Henry II. was married to Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis le Jeune, and here Thomas à Becket retreated during his exile from England.

The Barony of Creully was obtained with his wife Matilda by the Earl of Kent, a natural son of Henry I. A view of this primitive Norman Castle is given in D'Anisy's translation of Ducarel, (Caen, 1832). The castle was subsequently given to Sir Hortank von Clux, K.G. (Rot. Norm. 6 Hen. V. 22nd May.)

[2] So great was the terror inspired by the approach of Henry's army, that at Lisieux, eighteen miles from the sea, only one old man and a woman were found. (Contemporary Chronicle quoted by Meyerus, Annales rerum Flandricarum.)

A.D. 1417. September.

applausu, et in tantùm sub suo imperio vivere securè jam jurati reputant, ut sibi servire regnare feliciter arbitrentur. Quasdam etiam graves exactiones quæ vulgo solebant imponi, ut gabella et alia, regalis gratia in amplioris amoris augmentum misericorditer relaxabat.

Surrender of Courcy, 1st October,

Et mense Octobris, die primâ, Cadomenses fores exiens usque castrum de Cursy iter ducebat, quod sibi redditum tertiâ dietâ, versùs oppidum et castrum Argentinum,[1] obsidionis sensurâ et applicatione satis strictâ bellicoso circumvallavit exercitu. Sed dum custodes ipsorum virtutem regalem perpenderent, cum ipso rege conveniunt et concludunt, quod, nisi infrà octo dies per Gallicorum succursus à suæ obsidionis angustiis liberarentur, tam villam quàm castrum regalis nobilitas acceptaret. Termino demum cursûs limitato promissionis decreta complentur. Civitas Sees, in quâ duæ abbatiæ situantur,[2] majestati regiæ subjecta devenit, immò plura oppida et castella per patriam adjacentem Argentino reddito, et suam regi redditionem coactione spontaneâ occurrerunt. Cùm rex adhuc versùs villam Alenconii iter nondum completum ageret, multitudinem armatorum ab exercitu suo electam usque Bonmolyns et Essay, abbatias prævalidas, obtinendas,[3] et oppidum de Verneule, unà cum aliis

of Argenton

and Sées.

Henry takes possession of Bonmolyns, Essay,

[1] On the 7th of October, Henry dates a patent from his camp "juxta villam regis de Argenthem." (Rot. Norman. p. 175.)

The castle which surrendered to him on his way thither was castle of Courcy. (Idem, p. 173.)

[2] Henry took into his protection sixteen persons of the abbey of St. Martin, in the town of Séez (anciently Saii), on the 22nd of October. (Rot. Norman. p. 184.) A contemporary chronicler mentions "the fayre mynster" of this town. (MS. Cott. Claud. A. viii.) This beautiful cathedral, erected in the decorated style of the close of the 14th century, is well described by Mr. Gally Knight. (Archæol. Tour.)

[3] Sir John Tiptoft was charged with this duty. (Rot. Norm.) Verneuil was in 1424 the scene of a hard-fought battle between the Duke of Bedford and the French with their Scotch allies.

suis viribus capiendis transmittebat. Et inter regem et tam villæ de Alancon quàm castri custodes post multa tractatûs media, finaliter est conclusum quod per paucorum dierum spatia, pars utraque à guerris penitùs abstineret, et nisi ante tempus limitatum inclusis per suos superiores succursus consolamine affuerit, tam villam quàm castrum in manus regias sese spoponderant reddituros.[1] Quod factum est cum totâ ipsâ patriâ usque ad Sinomanicam civitatem, villam de Bellysme, castrum et villam de Ffresney;[2] immò nobiles Anglici quasdam munitiones per amplum circuitum, quas nimium foret singulatim referre, potestati regiæ subdere non cessârunt. Inter regem et ducem Britaniæ erat finaliter concordatum, ut à xvj°. die mensis Novembris usque festum Michaelis proximi sequentis, neuter ipsorum

A. D. 1417.

and Verneuil.

Surrender of Alençon,

Le Mans, Bellesme, and Frénay.

Treaty with the Duke of Brittany,

[1] From "our hoost afore Ffaloise" the king wrote to the chancellor, on the 16th of September, giving his assent that Johan Chandeler, Dean of Salisbury, should be chosen bishop of the same church, and on the 17th of December he reiterated the same consent. From "Our chastel of Alencōn, þe second day of Novembre," the king writes an order that "our clerc [of the Council] Rob^t Chyrington have þe prebend þat was Maistre Richard Dereham's in þe chirche of Chichestre." This order had been previously issued from Caen on the 30th of September. (Letters Missive, Tower.)

[2] Sinomanicam pro Cenomannicam, Le Mans, the principal town of the Gallo-Celtic Cenomanni, and the birth-place of Henry II. (Plantagenet). Its ancient cathedral contains the monument of Berengaria, consort of Richard Cœur de Lion, brought from the abbey of Epau. Bellesme and Frénay are to the N.E. and N.W. of Le Mans. The "castellania" (châtellenie, town and suburbs) of Bellesme were given in charge to Richard Earl of Warwick on the 15th of November. (Rot. Norman. p. 202.) The Duke of Alençon, having collected what forces he could obtain, advanced to the relief of Frénay, but was defeated with the loss, according to the Norman Chronicler, of nearly 5000 men, amongst them William Douglas, the valiant captain of the Scotch auxiliaries. His standard was taken, and by Henry's command preserved as a trophy in the Cathedral of Rouen. (Abrégé de l'Histoire de Normandie, Rouen, 1665.) This would appear to be the Battle of Cranant, where, according to the English accounts, the French lost 1000 killed and 800 taken prisoners. See Appendix, No. II.

A.D. 1417. November.

aut per se aut per suos subditos quoscunque adversùs alterum, seu alterius subditos, terras, dominia seu possessiones arma levaret, sed firmas treugas et guerrarum abstinentias per dicta tempora inviolabiliter observaret.[1] Ejusdem etiam conditionis treugæ per eadem tempora duraturæ, reginæ Hierosolymæ et Siciliæ et filio suo Lodowico,[2] præfati ducis instantiâ qui ambassiator pro eis penès nobilitatem regiam est effectus, pro Cenomanensi comitatu et ducatu Andegaviæ sunt concessæ.

and with the Queen of Sicily.

1st Dec. Henry besieges Falaise.

Primâ die mensis Decembris rex in personâ propriâ obsidionem circà Phalise et castrum imperterritus applicabat. Primò seipsum ante portam quæ versùs villam Cadomi solebat exitus incedere, hospitari elegit. Ducem Clarenciæ antè castrum, ducem Gloucestriæ à dextris, posuit, ex oppositâ verò parte nobiles, comites, barones et milites sunt ad loca congrua ex assignatione regiâ deputati. Et mense Januarii, die IJ° punctuationis præhabitæ tenor astrinxerat, ut villa Phalisiæ suarum januarum patentibus aditis regio ditionibus subjicebatur imperio. Et tandem penès castellum erat sic concordatum, quod nisi ante XVJ^m diem Februarii inclusis obsidionis expulsiva supervenirent suffragia, ipsi obsessi, absque equis et armis aliis et depau-

The city surrenders, 2nd January,

and the castle.

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[1] The interview between Henry and the Duke of Brittany took place at Alençon. The duke was upon his knees before the king a considerable time before he told him to rise. (Des Ursins.) His brother was Henry's vassal for the County of Richmond, and he had not forgotten his unfaithfulness at Agincourt.

For the terms of the treaty see Hardy's Norman Rolls, p. 208.

[2] Louis Duke of Anjou was the son of Louis d'Orléans, brother to Charles V. The Neapolitans had twice rejected him from favour to Ladislas, and he was so disgusted with their fickleness, that after the death of the usurper he preferred remaining with his mother, the ex-queen Yoland, in France (Moréri). In the year 1419 there was a project of a marriage between the queen of Sicily (who was the only daughter of the king of Navarre) and Humphrey duke of Gloucester, but it proved abortive. (Fœdera.)

perati divitiis, dictum exeuntes castellum ipsum in manus regias redderent conquisitum. Et proveniente termino nec quenquam qui suffragia præstaret reperirent, castellum regi reliquerunt.[1] Et ex post appropinquante tempore quadragesimæ, rex divino tantummodò eligebat vacare servitio, et ut ille decus militum dux Clarenciæ civiles honorum præconia guerras exercendo, in potenti pugnatorum virtute in variis partibus cumularet, viz. Harcort, Fagarnon, Tywyl, Cambrese, Compton et alia,[2] etiam fortissimam abbatiam ipsam de Bekhelwyn[3] pertinacis rebellionis

A. D. 1418. February.

Surrender of numerous castles.

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[1] The keep of Falaise still remains, one of the very proudest remnants of Norman antiquity. "Castellum etiam," says Livius, "quod oppido conjunctum erat, in altissimâ rupe pro muro situm inexpugnabile videbatur, erat et pulchris mœnibus supra ripam, turribusque munitum." It was from the window of an apartment, connected with it by a stone-staircase, that the Duke Robert first saw the beautiful Arlette. Falaise apparently derives its name from *fels*, German, a rock,

"Vicus erat scabrâ circumdatus undique rupe,
Ipsius asperitate loci Falæsa vocatus."

(Guillaume-le-Breton, Philippide.)

[2] The name of the second of these castles is unintelligible, but possibly Pontauton (now Pont Authon) is intended. The others are Harcourt, (which has given its name to one of the noblest and most respected families of England,) Tybouville, Chambrois, and Courtonne. Their deeds of surrender are given in Hardy's Norman Rolls, as well as those of Touque, Auvilliers, Villiers, Caen, Vire, Coutances, St. Lo, Carenten, Lesgle, and Rugles.

[3] The abbey of Bec, or Bec Hellouin, so named after its first abbot Hellouin or Herlouinus, (A. D. 1034,) is memorable from having given four archbishops to Canterbury, among whom were Lanfranc and Anselmn, and two Bishops to Rochester. A copy of an initial portrait of Anselmn invested with the pall, but divested of the mitre, has been presented by the editor to the Society of Antiquaries. After his expulsion by Rufus, Anselmn retired again to his abbey.

On the 22nd of March, 1420, Henry confirmed its possessions to the abbey "for the soul of his mother the Empress Matilda," (Fœdera,) that is the daughter of Henry I., who dying at Rouen in 1166 or 1167, was buried at this abbey. The leaden coffin which contained her remains and some fragments of silver lace was discovered in 1846. It bore this inscription: "Ossa illustrissimæ Dominæ Mathildis Imperatricis, infra majorē altarē reperta, 2 Mart. 1184, in eodem corocollocata eodem mense et anno." (The

A.D. 1418. cornua dilacerabat. Industriâ virorum nobilium, gesta fortia quæ in talium conquestu castrorum laudabiliter sunt peracta, relinquo; unum, tamen non arbitror dimittendum quòd divitiarum immensas copias et jocalium multitudines copiosas quas idem dux infrà castrum de Harcourt felici victoriâ conquisivit.[1] De ipsius ducis saltèm hujus temporis gestis perpetuæ memoriæ commendandis stilus præsens à vomere querculum extrahens gradum sistat. Dux Glocestriæ in alias partes rebelles emittitur debellandas, viz. in insulam de Constantin et primò castrum de Cawday, deindè castrum de Wyre, castrum de Turnay et oppidum Sancti Laudi, castrum Sancti Salvatoris, castrum de Valeignez, castrum de Brobeke, et Noo[2] cum aliis munitionibus, his tem-

Capture of Harcourt Castle.

The Duke of Gloucester sent to the Côtentin.

Times, January 1, 1847.) The empress founded many religious houses in Normandy, and built a bridge over the Seine at Rouen. (William of Jumièges.) The French chronicler thus mentions the devastation committed on the approach of Henry's army: "Et tunc consilio omnium destructa sunt omnia ædificia ipsius abbatiæ extra propugnacula existentia; Aula, scilicet dicta la Male-maison, domus hospitium, Eleemosynæ domus, et vetus B. Herlouini Ecclesiola, seu capella S. Helluini, quæ maximum monachis attulere dolorem." (Du Monstier, Neustria Pia, p. 470.)

[1] The MS. reads Castrum de Agincort, which is evidently a clerical error. Livius reads Castrum de Harcourt, and the booty found there is referred to by him and also in the following French Chronicle.

[2] The Peninsula of the Côtentin, so called, according to Du Chesne, from the city of Coutance, formerly called Constantía, is interesting as having been the cradle of many noble English families. The Norman Brix or Bruis is the same as the English Bruce. The castle of Vire has given its name to the celebrated Vaux-de-Vire, the drinking-songs of its provincial poet Basselin. The other castles are Thorigny, St. Laudus or St. Lo, so called after a saint of the sixth century, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, Valognes, Briquebec, and, perhaps, Pont-Doue, now called Pont d'Ouilly. Cauday is probably a clerical error for Hambye, which surrendered to the Duke of Gloucester 10th March, 1418, Hommet on the 16th, and Pont-Doue on the 17th March. (Rot. Norm. 6 Hen. V. p. 2, mm. 9 and 10.) Valognes and St. Sauveur had belonged to the Bertrams, the Tessons, and the Harcourts, but had been surrendered by Edward III. after the treaty of Brétigny. Henry

poribus per eundem principem subjugatis, sermo præsens innitens brevitate, aliqua inscripta redigere non proponit, sed maximo labore et longâ obsidione, viz. per unius anni medietatem continuatâ obtinuit oppidum et castellum de Cherbroke. Eodem intermedio tempore, viz. circà festum Assumptionis beatæ Virginis, Scottorum elatio, regem à regno suo Angliæ in partes remotas transfretasse cognoscens, in magnâ multitudine armatorum ipsius regni ingrediebatur confinia: habens capitaneos ducem Albaniæ et comitem de Dowglace, proposuerunt obsidionem castro et villæ Berewicæ et altero castro de Rokysburgh, et illa hostili armatu capere omnibus viribus studebant, et graviora, nisi potenti brachio, ipsorum obviaretur malitiæ verisimiliter illatura. Sed cùm capitanei ex parte Anglicorum, viz. dux Exoniæ tunc temporis loca Sanctorum Willielmi et Cuthberti causâ peregrinationis visitans, Henricus Bowett, Eboraci archiepiscopus licèt senio confectus, Henricus Percy, comes Northumbriæ, Radulphus Nevele, comes Westmorlandiæ et alii nobiles, barones, milites et alii stipati ad numerum centum millia virorum, in locum quendam quem Baarmor boriales appellant proùt fide dignorum ibidem existentium testabatur: et cùm inter dominos ex parte Anglicorum consimilium mutuum fuerit quibus modis et viis negotium utiliùs gereretur, Scottorum astutia tantâ multitudine exterrita fugam interim eligebat, et ne Scoti Anglicis prædæ succumberent, ad propria redire curabant. Et cùm nihil diutiùs expectando proficeret, Anglicorum exercitus dispergitur et à numeroso populo ad propria remeatur.

A. D. 1418.

August. The Scots ravage England.

The English barons assemble,

and the Scots flee.

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bestowed the castles of Hambye and Briquebec upon his favourite, William Earl of Suffolk, who was to render him in return a shield of the arms of St. George annually. (Hardy's Nor. Rolls. p. 318.)

A. D. 1418. Et post pauca dux Exoniæ antedictus, proùt regalis providentia decrevit, in partes Normannias applicuit, et urbem Ebroicensem cum castello virtute bellicâ subjugavit. Sed peractis sacris solemniis Quadragesimalibus et Paschalibus,[1] quàmvis obsidiones prædictæ, viz. oppidi et castelli Cæsariburgi[2] et castri de Damfront, curis anxiis regalem solicitarent animum, tamen assumptis quæ per loca varia dispersæ fuerant viribus bellicosis, villam Cadomensem exiens usque ad oppidum Lociveris obsidendum occursu celeri festinabat.[3] Exercitum igitur suum VIIJ° die mensis Junii, ante dictam villam Lociveris per circuitum rex ordine congruo demonstrare constituit, et dicti mensis Junii die XXIIJ° villa ipsa, proùt impunctuatione præhabitâ conveniebatur, ab intrusoriâ potestate, in possessionem regiam liberatur, et omnia punctuata repromissum exitum sortiuntur; et ne segnitiei nebula suæ militiæ famosæ gloriæ decorem obnubilet, usque ad obsidionem villæ de Pountlarge[4]

Cherbourg and Domfront besieged.

8th June. Henry besieges Louviers,

and Pont de l'Arche.

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[1] After having kept Lent at Bayeux, Henry returned to Caen, where he solemnized the feast of St. George, and conferred the knighthood of the Bath on fifteen officers of his household. (See the following French Chronicle, and the order for 10*l.* to purchase garters in the Pell Issue Rolls, 1st February, 5th Hen. V.) It is probable that Sir John Robessart, Hugh Stafford Lord Bouchier, Sir William Phillip, and Sir John Gray were then elected to fill the vacancies that had occurred. (Beltz, Memorials of the Order of the Garter.)

[2] Cherbourg had been restored to the Duke of Brittany by Richard II. in 1396, much to the discontent of his subjects. (See Chronique de Ric. II.)

[3] On the 5th July the Duke of Clarence wrote to the Mayor of London, announcing the capture of Louviers; stating that the king's forces crossed the Seine yesterday, (although the bridge was defended by a strong force under the Sire de Graville,) and are now before Pont de l'Arche, which he hopes will be soon subdued, for they commence to treat already. (Archives of London.)

Whilst at Louviers the king appointed the Earl of March his lieutenant of all the lands at present in his power. (12th June, 6 Hen. V. MS. Donat. 4601.)

[4] From Pont de l'Arche Henry wrote to the Mayor of London, mentioning that the Cardinal des Ursins came to him at Louviers from the Pope, "to treat for the

dicti mensis Junii die xxvij°, et ut breviùs perstringamus quàm possent inclusi ampliùs dilatari, post multa tractatûs colloquia similiter est conclusum, quod nisi ante xv. dierum terminum per opportunæ subventionis auxilia, obsidionis removeretur anxietas, tam oppidum quàm castellum, nobilitas regia conciperet conquestum. Venit deinde præfixus terminus, inclusis auxiliativa suffragia non adducens proût oportuit, xx°. die Julii et tractatûs tenor cavebat, utramque dictarum munitionum in suum versum dominium rex acceptavit; et xxix°. die Julii regalis nobilitas, nec onerosis curis perterrita nec tam ardui difficultate negotii præpedita, in obsidionem Rothomagensis civitatis properabat. Et regia verò circumspecta nobilitas et Martialis prudentissima politia obsidionem ipsam dispositioni constituit in hunc modum; persona regia ante urbis fores Sancti Hillarii vulgari nominatas vocabulo, obsidionis tempora deducere excubiis præelegit. Ante januam de Cawshe[1] communiter nominatam nobilis dux Clarenciæ vices excubitorias pervigil regiis edictis assumpsit, et per plura gesta

A.D. 1418.

20th July. Henry takes possession of Pont de l'Arche,

and hastens to the siege of Rouen.

good of peace between both realms, and is gone again to Paris for to diligence there in this same matter, but what end it shall draw to we wot not as yet." He also states that he sent a poursuivant to the Duke of Burgundy, "to know whether he would keep the truces between us or no, who enformed us the said duke purposeth to give us battle, and he is now at Paris." The king also acquaints him with the death of the Count d'Armagnac. (Archives of London.) It must be recorded that Henry used most presumptuous language to the pope's ambassador. "Do you not see," said he, "that God has led me here as by the hand? There is no longer a king in France; I have a legitimate claim on the throne; all here is in confusion; they only think how they can best defend themselves against me. Could I have a more palpable proof that God, who disposes of crowns, intends to place that of France upon my head?" (Des Ursins.) The French at length consented to add Normandy to the cessions made by the treaty of Brétigny (Fœdera, ix. 628, 763), but Henry's pretensions increased with his conquests.

[1] La Porte Cauchoise.

A. D. 1418. August. Rouen besieged.

laude dignissima obsidionis durante tempore, laudis suæ gloriam meritò cumulavit. Ante portam castelli vocatam, comes Marescallus tunc temporis nominatus posteà dux Norffolchiæ, et existens importunia guerrarum diluvia frequentibus emergentia fluctibus nobiliter declinabat; januæ verò de Martynvill strenuus ipse miles totiens probatissimus vir in armis, prænobilis comes Warwici, desideratos exitus præterclusit,[1] ubi feroces guerrarum procellas hostiliumque minarum flatus horriferos mitigavit, et omnem inimicorum impetum à facie suâ fugere et prorsùs consuetâ nobilitate silere coegit. Illustrissimus miles et prænobilis armatorum præfectus, comes Sarum,[2] suæ præcellentis dignitatis meritis perpetuæ recordationis stilo, in tabulis memoriæ et famæ circumsonæ immatriculandus registro, abbatiam validissimam in montis Sanctæ Katerinæ fastigiis situatam, sitibus armiferis antesedit, qui per obsidionis tempora, multa mira, immò plurima miracula bellicosa perpetuò jocunda peregit. Ante Beatæ Vicinæ portam[3] asperrima postremò in

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[1] Rous' MS. (Cott. Julius E. iv.) contains a portrait of the earl at the siege of Rouen, which is thus headed, "Howe Erle Richard was atte sege of Ron there set first betwen the Kinges tent and Seint Kateryns, and whan Seynt Kateryns was wonne he was sette to kepe Port Martenvyle. (fo. 219, b.)

The contemporary chronicler before quoted (MS. Claud. A. viii.) mentions that the earl encamped nearer to Rouen than any other captain, "by xl. roddes of lengthe, wythin shot of quarrell," from which we gather the range of the cross-bow.

[2] An engraved portrait of Thomas Earl of Salisbury, taken from a contemporary MS., is given in Strutt's Regal Antiquities. On the 1st of June, 1418, the king, being then at Bernay, gave the earl the lands and lordships of Neufboro, Coubon, and La Rivière de Tibouville, to the value of 4000 scutes per annum, for which he was to render the iron head of a lance upon the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, yearly, at Caen Castle. (Rot. Norm. 6 Hen. V. p. 1.)

[3] La porte Beauvoisine. The king lodged in an abbey of the Carthusians. A chapel which Henry II. erected about two miles south of the city is still standing, but the interesting relic is now converted into a barn and stable.

adventu suo circà festum Michaelis, nobilis dux Exoniæ guerrarum turbinibus resistit, et feroces hostiles exitus curâ pervigili et militari industriâ capistravit. Partes cæterum hinc et inde usque ad Secanæ littora extensis nobilium militum et electorum pugnantium tutis et ordinatissimis nequaquam caruere custodiis. Partium vero trans Secanam quas cives ipsi sinè pontis adminiculo nequivere pertingere, circumspectæ probitatis miles comes Huntyngdoniæ animositatis fultus subsidio custodiam assumpsit, et ipsas viriliter custodiendo defendit.[1] Partes vero fluviales ne per eas introitus

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[1] A body of Welch under Sir Thomas Carew, Kt., kept the water-side. (Rot. Norm.) A valiant Gascon squire, Janico d'Artas, lay next to him, whilst John Botiller, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem (of Kilmaynham) commanded the Irish auxiliaries who encamped on the north. Reference has been made to the latter in the Excerpta Historica, page 388, but all doubt as to the name of this ecclesiastical captain is removed by the following extract from the Norman Rolls, which also proves that the habits of the Irish were as irregular and disorderly in the fifteenth century as are those of the Tipperary boys of the nineteenth: "Rex dilecto sibi Johanni Botiller, priori Sancti Johannis Jerusalemis in Hiberniâ, Salutem, Quia datum est nobis intelligi quod diversi Hibernici in comitatu vestrâ existentes mala quamplurima contra formam ordinationem statutorum et appunctuamentorum pro regimine et gubernatione populi exercitûs nostri editorum sæpiùs à tempore applicationis suæ in ducatum nostrum Normannii, fecerunt, et indies facere non desistunt, nos, hujusmodi mala ne de cætero fiant aliqualiter tolerare nolentes, dedimus vobis plenam tenore presentium potestatem et auctoritatem ad statuta ordinationem et appunctuamenta prædicta, quorum tenorem vobis mittimus per latorem presentium omnibus et singulis Hibernicis in comitivâ vestrâ existentes, publicandum et notificandum ac omnes illos quos contra formam statutorum delinquentes invenientis, castigandum et puniendum prout juxta unam formam fierunt faciendam. Test' Rex in exercitu suo prope civitatem de Rouen, xiiij die Dec'. Per ipsum regem. (Rot. Norm. 6 Hen. V. p. 1, m. 5. dorso.)

A graphic account of the wild habits of the Irish is given by Monstrelet, and also by Henry Cristall, or Castide, a gentleman of the household of Richard II., who, being taken prisoner by the Irish, remained amongst them several years. (Froissart, book iv. ch. 64.)

A word or two respecting Janico d'Artas may not be uninteresting. This faithful servant of Richard II., was imprisoned by Henry

A.D. 1418. Rouen besieged.

aut egressus regiis pateret hostibus tali quodam navigio quali ipsa tempora providere sufficerant servabantur.[1] De mutuis vero interpugnis, alternis insultibus, frequenti strage et inimico certamine quæ per hæc tempora nutrierunt, cùm non singula considerationis tenuis capacitas complectatur, plura interserere præmittitur. Sed qualiter ipsius urbis præfulgura meridies, in caliginosam declinabat ves-

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IV. upon his accession, but was shortly released. (See Archæol. xx. 92; and Chronique de la trahison de Ric. II. p. 210.)

His petitions to Henry IV. for the restoration of the annuities granted by Richard II. are still extant. (State Paper Office, Privy Seal Writs, 1 Hen. IV.) Although, from the absence of "Le roy le voet," it would appear that his petitions were not granted at the time, they were subsequently, as appears from the Norman Roll of the 7th Hen. V., which recites that Henry's father gave to him for his life 100 marks on the fee-farms, customs, and cockets of the town of Drogheda, 40*l*. on the fee-farms of the city of Dublin, the office of constable of the same city, 12*d*. per day from the manor of Eskir in Ireland, and 100*l*. annually from the Exchequer of Ireland, which he enjoyed till the arrival of John Talbot of Halomshire our lieutenant. (Dated from Bek Helouin, 5th June.) About this time d'Artas fought a duel and fell into disfavour. But upon the petition of the Earls of England in the last Parliament held under the Duke of Bedford (anno 1417), Henry V. restored him to favour, granted him the office of seneschal of Ulster, with the guard of .... Grene Castle, Carlyngford (P. Seal Writs, Tower, 3 Hen. V.), and in consequence of his bravery and good conduct, wrote two letters in his behalf to the chancellor, in which he styled him our well-beloved knight, and desired him to grant him writs of *liberate* and *allocate* for his annuities, "without preferment of the 1000*l*. we owe you." (Letters Missive, Tower, Louviers, 1418, and again from Vernon, 6th April, 1419.)

The fact of the duel and the petition of the Earls in his favour is recited in the Norman Roll, 7 Hen. V. June 5. His own petition to Henry V. is given in Rot. Parl. iv. 161. D'Artas's decease is commemorated on the 12 kal. Dec. in the Book of Obits of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Dublin.

[1] Henry had caused the mouth of the Seine to be blockaded by some good ships hired from the Portuguese, who had been in alliance with England as early as the reign of Richard II.; and when Rouen was captured, the Portuguese heralds, with the arms

"Of Portyngale both castelle
and toure,"

took part in the procession. (Archæol. xxii. 372). His fleet at Rouen consisted of 100 vessels. (MS. Claud. A. viii.)

A. D. 1418.

The citizens suffer severely from famine.

peram aliquantulum videatur. Cùmque sterilis fames, macies ægerrima, Cererem et Bacchum urbem reliquisse perpenderet, mox facie pallidâ, vultu mortifero, cute rugosâ, costis prostantibus, ossibus carne nudatis, inani ventre, esuriente stomacho, capillis hirsutis et omni miseriæ genere circumdata, cœpit hospes gravissima totius fieri civitatis. Nec mora, tantæ luis adventu, cives in tantam delapsi sunt inediam, ut quo vescerentur penitùs non haberent. Postquam vero carnes equinas publicâ parcitate distributas consumpserant, deindeque caninis carnibus seu catinis vix famis insultus cassare potuerunt, tandem murium ratonumque carnes extexicatas magno comparatas pretio, rapida ventris voracitas in suam salsosam abyssum devorat et receptat.[1] Cùmque postremò nihil omninò quod stomachi esurientis Charybdi voracissimæ sufficeret haberetur, parvulorum ululatus miserrimi, fœminarum planctus soniferi, utriusque sexûs horridi rugitus, æthera, cælum, aures penetrant. Dum enim exclamant "Heu! fame morimur," unà cum voce spiritus egrediuntur in auras: tot millia corporum per vicos civitatis mortiferâ peste famis jam spiritibus viduata videres, ut vivos sepulturæ tradere morticina plurimùm fastidiret. In hâc civitate vix similem posses contemplari miseriam, dum vagientis infantis labella tenerrima, proùt fide digna rem videntium testantur eloquia, sugerent ubera mortuæ

[1] The following statement from Otterbourne proves the awful severity of the famine: "Canes verò pingues vendebantur pro 10*s.*, rato pro 6*d.*, equus macer pro 20 marciis, ovum pro 13*d.*, quarta frumenti, id est quarta pars lagenæ, pro 10*s.*, pomum pro 40*d.*, pirum pro 40*d.*, vendebantur." (Ed. Hearne, p. 282.) Henry had invested the city the Friday before Lammas Day, (29th July,) and had thus shut out the inhabitants from any portion of the new harvest. (Archæologia, xxii. p. 386; MS. Cott. Claud. A. viii.; and Elmham,)

A. D. 1418.

and are compelled to treat.

genitricis.[1] Et cùm nullum medium tam gravis ultionis funereæ declinandi discrimina esset, duntaxàt gratiæ regalis benignum favorem perpenderent, ipsam suppliciter invocantes tractatum ineunt, et super urbis et castelli redditione in nullo regalibus resistendo decretis, securam compositionem punctuant, perficiunt, et confirmant.[2] Et XIX.° die mensis Januarii reddita est civitas regiæ voluntati, et luce

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[1] "There men might see a great pity,
A child of two year old or three
Go about, and bid his bread,
For father and mother both lay dead;
And women holding in their arms
A dead child, and nothing warm,
And children sucking on the pap
Within a dead woman's lap."
(Archæol. xxii. 373.)

[2] Henry accepted the capitulation of Rouen, but upon terms of considerable severity. It was obtained at the price of 50,000*l*., (300,000 scutes, not golden crowns, as Mr. Dawson Turner states in his Tour through Normandy,) as well as of the lives of three most distinguished citizens, Robert Livret, grand-vicar of the archbishop, John Jourdain, commander of the artillery, and Louis Blanchard, captain of the trainbands. The two first were, however, suffered to ransom themselves; the last, a man of distinguished courage, was beheaded; but Henry, much to his credit, made no further use of his victory. Even Blanchard's execution was apparently a retribution for his barbarity to certain English prisoners.—"Alanus vero Blanchard," says Otterbourne, "vir sceleratissimus, qui suspendit Anglos supra muros Rothomagi, et ligavit canes ad eorum colla, et quosdam saccavit ligatis canibus ad barbas eorum, et demersit in Sequanam, tractus et suspensus est."

Many particulars connected with the siege of Rouen will be found in "Rouen sous les Anglois," par Cherüel, 8vo. Rouen. But the most graphic sketch of the siege is that given in the Old English poem in the 22nd volume of the Archæologia, with notes by Sir Frederick Madden. Edward Holland, Earl of Mortayne, and Gilbert Lord de Talbot, died at this siege. Henry ordered 10,000 masses to be said for their souls (Pell Issue Rolls, 22nd Oct., 6 Hen. V.) It is suggested whether the "Graunte Jakys," who conveyed the offer of capitulation to Henry, may not have been the Jacques Felm, a Bohemian, who was the esquire to the Duke of Norfolk at his duel with Henry of Lancaster. (Chron. of Ric. II. p. 149.) A curious memento of Henry's occupation still remains; the "Boulingrin," a level green sward on the Boulevards, now used as a horse-market. The Rouenese are not aware that this was the Bowling-green of the English garrison, nor that they have adopted the English term for a riding-coat (redingote). Notice of the erection of a palace at Rouen by Henry is made in the French Chronicle.

A. D. 1419.

sequenti gloriosus triumphator in nobilium principum et magnatum venerabili comitivâ civitatem et castellum similiter conquisitum ingrediens, et gemitibus lacrymosis fame pereuntium miseratus compatiens, præcipuis de familiâ domûs regiæ dedit in mandatis, ut quemadmodùm pro personâ suâ propriâ ita etiam turbæ famis naufragia patienti necessaria provideret. Et post pauca regiâ providentiâ rediit ubertas penuriosis, fames abiit et recessit.

19th Jan. Rouen surrenders, and Henry enters.

Et statim post electos nobilium armatorum cuneos sub illustrium capitaneorum præfecturâ, in partes varias destinavit, quorum præcipuus dux Clarenciæ qui statim castellum de Galion, oppidum forte de Vernon et castrum ejusdem, oppidum nobile de Mawnte[1] castellum itaque de Bewmant et alias munitiones penè quascunque petierat virtute magnanimi imperio regis subjugavit. Comes vero Salysburiensis et alii nobiles capitanei deputati vix transactâ morulâ nobilem abbatiam de Ffyscam, oppidum de

The Duke of Clarence captures many fortified towns.

[1] Gaillon surrendered to the Duke of Clarence in Feb. 1418, and Vernon on the 3rd of that month. It was stipulated that all the "curley natifs, (A. S. ceorls) Galloys, Iroys et Gascons qui autrefoys auront tenu la partie Dengleterre," should be given up. (Rot. Norm. 6 Hen. V. p. 2, m. 5.) Henry took up his head-quarters at Mantes on the 29th May, and he remained there (excepting an occasional visit to the abbey of Bec-Helouin) till the 5th August, returning there again after the surrender of Gisors in October. (Privy Seal Writs.) From Mantes he wrote many letters to the Bishop of Durham, his Chancellor, in one of which, dated 19th June, he thus writes:—

"And furthermore we wol and also charge you y[t] ye ordeyne þat be effectually doon in dede þ[t] we wrote unto you as touching þe Duc of Orliens, as our trust is to you, for the case is so grete þ[t] ye ne couthe not ymagyn hit gretter." (Letters Missive, Tower of London.) Twice before, at the least, viz. in 1417 as Henry was leaving England, and again from Gisors, October, 1419, did Henry write on the same subject, urging the chancellor to see that Robert of Waterton was not reckless in the keeping of his prisoner the Duke of Orleans. (See Chron. of Ric. II., p. lxxii., and Henry of Monmouth, ii. 260.) Did not this extreme anxiety arise from fear that his noble prisoner might escape to Scotland and ally himself with his enemies there, whoever they were?

A.D. 1419.

Deepe, oppidum de Hunfleu, villam de Mosterdewelers, oppidum de Hew, oppidum de Gornay, novum castrum et alia quæcunque propinquis partibus præoccupabat rebellio, in regiam ditionem reddita receperunt.[1] Et post rex, viz. à primâ die Maii usque ad ultimum diem Julii, circa tractatus pacis mirè disposuit, et longo tractatu inter reges in regna deducunt dies licet effectum mutuò tractatorum non potuit obtinere, penultimo die Julii ostendit rex publicâ proclamatione nuper torpentes guerrarum venisse furores, in quâ regalis insopita militia nobiles in armis in capturam oppidi Pontiseræ instruit et invitat. Et in primâ die obsidionis Pontisera subjicitur in manus Anglicorum, et dominantur ejus qui oderunt eum; et rex gloriosus ipsam ingreditur. Et post aliquot dies dux Clarenciæ cum potentissimo pugnatorum brachio ante civitatem Parisius[2] duobus

August. Capture of Pontoise,

[1] Monstredevilliers, now Montiville, agreed, on the 23rd January, 1419, to surrender to the king in seven days; Lillebonne surrendered to the Duke of Exeter on the 31st of January; Estreprengy and Fécamp on 1st February; Gauseville on the 3rd; Dieppe and Hôtot on the 8th; Gournay on the 9th, and Thiboutot on the 10th February. Neaufle surrendered to the Duke of Clarence on the 22nd of February; Honfleur on the 25th, and Grant et Petit Goulet on the 26th February. (Rot. Norman. 6 Hen. V. p. 2, mm. 1 to 4.) The abbey church at Fécamp, built in the 13th century, is still standing, and Lillebonne, the Julia Bona of Antonine and Ptolemy, boasts of its Roman amphitheatre, and of its castle where William the Bastard planned, with his barons, the conquest of England.

Hew is the château of Eu, anciently written Auve, (Auga,) then Ewe. A son of Sir William Bouchier was summoned to Parliament as Earl d'Ewe in the 13th of Hen. VI. Caudebec had been invested by the Earl of Warwick. The town agreed to share the fate of Rouen, and suffered the English fleet to pass up the river. Its beautiful church, with its unrivalled open tower, was built by the English. In the south nave is this inscription:—

"Lan mil ccccxxvi
Fu celle nef cy commencie,
Santé, Dieu, biens et bonne vie
A bienfacteurs, et paradis."

The *castrum novum* seems to have been known by the name of Le Château-neuf. See the Chron. of the Monk of St. Denys, b. xxxiii. ch. 22.

[2] As Elmham and this chronicler alike write Parisius throughout, it has been thought advisable to leave the word uncorrected.

A. D. 1419.

vel tribus diebus continuis incolebat, et cùm non audebat urbs ipsa cum principe inire conflictus, quare ipse dux Pontiseram rediit,[1] et XVIIJ° die mensis Augusti rex Pontiseram egreditur versùs castellum Bokonvelers, et electos viros in ejus obsidionem emisit, qui sic custodes terruerunt, ut de suâ salute penitùs desperarunt. Veruntamen contemplatione cujusdam dominæ interclusæ, castello reddito, custodes ejusdem sinebantur exire.[2] In extremum diem Augusti rex circa oppidum de Gisors illustrium virorum bellicosâ potentiâ per amplum circuitum stabilivit. Sed custodes oppidi tam gravis obsidionis terribiles exitus expectare stultitiam reputantes, tutiori ductu consilio statuerunt cum regiâ prudentiâ, si ad præfixum terminum non apparerent qui viris inclusis auxiliativos præstarent succursus, XVIJ° die mensis Septembris villam ipsam redditam manus regales acciperent. Die statuto non scientes advenire succursum ut tractatum fuerat, forte oppidum redditum erat fortiori.[3] Gisorce salvo-custodiæ mancipato, mox oppidum Meduntæ[4] cum suis

and Vauconvilliers.

18th Sept. Surrender of Gisors,

[1] Henry wrote to the mayor and aldermen of London, on the 5th August, 1419, informing them of the capture of this important post. (Archives of the City of London.) Two millions of écus were said to have been found here, and abundant provisions. (Walsingham.) The town was taken by escalade, the ditch being dry, whilst the sentinels were absent hearing the first mass. (St. Rémy.) Pontoise was taken again, in 1437, by a *ruse* of Talbot, who, when the snow was upon the ground, clothed his soldiers in white, which dress enabled them to reach the foot of the walls in the night, unobserved by the garrison.

[2] Our author here follows Livius rather than Elmham. The castle is called by the French chroniclers Vauconvilliers.

[3] The donjeon of the castle of Gisors, once the bulwark of Normandy, was built by our second Henry. This interesting feudal relique is octagonal, of massive structure. In 1419 the castle was fortified by a double wall with wide moats, which were staked. Here Philippe Auguste and Henry I. met, and here Henry II. and Louis VII., after their reconciliation by Pope Calixtus, agreed to raise the banner of the cross for the recovery of Jerusalem.

[4] The MS. reads "oppidum de Mawnt," but the classical name in the text is found in Henry's Privy Seal Writs.

A.D. 1419. of Mantes, adiit, et in præcipite subjectioni trium munitionum rebellium cuneos armiferos viris instauratos potentibus tripartivit. Ducem Gloucestriæ in obsidionem castelli quod Sancti Germani sortitum est vocabulum limitavit,[1] qui reddi ditioni regiæ statim compulerat; castellum etiam de Montjoye expulsis obsidionis fastigiis regiæ dominationis imperio subjugatur. Oppidum itaque de Mulant his iisdem temporibus turmæ regales obsiderant, sed suffragii solamine non adepto, villam obsessam penultimâ die Octobris regi proût pactum erat reddebant.[2] Et VIIJ° die Decembris mediante ducis Exoniæ industriâ, custodes castelli fortissimi de Gaylard ipsum regi Angliæ reddiderunt.[3] Deinde rex civitatem Rothomagen-

St. Germaine,

and Meulan; 30th October.

8th Dec.

Capture of Château Gaillard.

[1] The prayer-book of our James II. (who kept his mimic court at St. Germaine), decorated with the royal arms of England, was sold in 1846 for ten francs, and is now deposited in the public library of Rouen.

[2] Henry conducted the siege of Meulan in person. The enemy had staked the river to hinder the approach of the English boats, but the king's workmen removed the stakes under the protection of his soldiers, and the town was commanded by wooden towers which he caused to be erected on boats chained together. (Elmham.)

[3] The king gave to the Duke of Exeter all the money and goods that were found in this stronghold as a reward for his labours in reducing it. It endured a siege of seven months. (Livius.)

This celebrated fortress once enjoyed a celebrity which six entire ages have not been able to obliterate. Guillaume-le-Breton, a chronicler of the 13th century, makes it his standard of comparison: "Ut non Gaillardo se jactitat inferiorem." Even now its towering battlements and frowning crags, elevated as they are some two hundred feet from the Seine which washes its foot, form a most imposing and picturesque object. This stronghold, the "saucy castle" of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, was erected by him to protect Normandy from his rival Philippe Auguste, and was begun and finished by him in one year. "Ecce quam pulchra filia unius anni!" exclaimed Richard. (Bromton, Hist. Ang. Scriptores Antiqui.) It was called by Richard the Rock of Andelys (Fœdera); but as in the pride of his heart he, when looking down exultingly on the defenceless town and ruins beneath, one day exclaimed, "C'est un château gaillard!" (Guillaume-le-Breton,) his *sobriquet* was seized and adopted by his followers, and the title has been ever since retained.

sem adivit, ubi natalis Christi solemnia devotis ac lætabundis obsequiis celebrari studuit. Ac post pauca ne aliquatenus requies præsumptionis materiam ministraret hostibus, electos capitaneos ductores virorum nobilium in partes varias adversùs hostiles insidias destinavit. Comes Sarum cum baronibus, militibus, et universis bellatorum cuneis in obsidionem oppidi de Ffresnay, qui strictioris obsidionis ambitu circumligat et constringit. Hujus oppidi tales erant custodes quos notabiles industria multiplici practicâ perfecit et reddidit expertos in armis. Tandem post plurimas furiales alternatas insanias, coguntur inclusi fieri ductiles ad tractatum, et guerrarum sævitiâ temperati, reddebant in manus regias oppidum quod servabant. Miles martialis et Huntyngdon[1] his temporibus hostili impugnatus in

A.D. 1419.

A.D. 1420. Siege and surrender of Frénay.

After Richard's death the castle was regained, 6th March, 1203, Old Style, by Philippe Auguste, the champion of Prince Arthur; Roger de Lacy, the Constable of Chester, its commander, being starved into surrender, owing to the effeminate John having neglected to succour it, not however before its commander had bravely sustained a long siege, —"his hatred of the man merged in his honour of the king."

In 1419, according to St. Rémy, the castle was held for the dauphin by Sir Louis de Mauny and 120 gentlemen or more, who after a siege of six months, surrendered to Henry's forces, because cut off from their supply of water owing to the wearing away of the ropes by which the buckets were drawn from the well.

Henry appointed John of Ross its captain, and shortly afterwards John Clifford. (Gascon Rolls.) After remaining in the possession of the English twelve years, it was retaken by escalade by the celebrated La Hire, who released the Sire de Barbazan, whom Henry had taken prisoner at the capture of Melun. It was retaken by the English under Talbot, but changed masters for the last time in 1449, being recaptured by Charles VII., its garrison of only 200 warriors having surrendered after a siege of ten weeks, on condition of being allowed to depart with their goods. (Berry, Hist. de Charles VII.) A full description of this fortress has been published by M. Deville of Rouen. It was reduced to its present state of ruin by orders of Henry IV. of France.

[1] In the text the word "comes" was written, but has been struck out, and the word "miles" substituted. There is no doubt that the proper reading should be

A.D. 1420. multitudine validâ pugnatorum per regem in Cenomanniam mittebatur. Quo apud adversarios promulgato, capitanei quidem qui immenso numero virorum qui partem prætensi Dolphini tenuerant, præerant se in magnâ fortitudine bellicosè direxerant comitibus in occursum, sic non procul ab urbe Meduntæ, unâ dierum horrendis occursibus convenerunt; inter viros fortes dirus conflictus invaluit; equi et ascensores sternuntur ad ima; finaliter vero gloriosus Anglis triumphus et miserum suis adversis interitum cessit. Comites vero prænobiles cum suis armatorum cœtibus victores remanent, dignis laudum præconiis extollendi.

Encounter with the partizans of the Dauphin.

Ambassadors arrive at Rouen.

Sed post pauca venerunt Rothomagum missi à Carolo Franciæ rege et Philippo duce Burgundiæ, et sibi favorem præstantibus ambassiatores notabiles qui maturæ deliberationis industriâ guerrarum molientes religare dispendia, proscriptam pacem revocare curabant. Post quorum cum rege et suis plurima super tractatu collationes et colloquia, discretio regia ne ipse in causâ discordiæ seu guerrarum remaneat aut pacis collata videatur recusare fœdera, cum eisdem statuit et convenit, quod ex parte suâ notabilis ambascia virorum nobilium versùs præfatos Carolum et ducem Burgundiæ mitteretur sine morâ, ut tantæ præsit ambasciæ, ille tam extollendæ nobilitatis Warwici comes eligitur et paratur, et circumspectæ personæ, prælati et clerici, et seculares honorificæ reputationis domini et magnates, qui mox versùs præfatum ducem Burgundiæ iter arripuit. Quo cum suis ab ipso

"comes Marescallus," as Livius reads, (John de Moubray, then Earl of Nottingham, afterwards restored to the Duchy of "Northfolk.") Our author has followed the erroneous reading of Elmham, and has rendered the following adjective and verb in the singular instead of the plural.

A. D. 1420.

duce honorificè suscepto, super unionis et pacis negotiis tractaturi super unitatem treugarum adibant. Mox quoque ut tempora se præbuerant opportuna, cœperunt partes super principato tractatu diutini laboris et quotidianæ solicitudinis inire consilia. Ex his enim diutiùs tractantium sudoribus et operis quantum sibi commissa patiebatur auctoritas futuræ pacis; finalis concordia per matrimonialia fœdera inter ipsum regem Anglorum et ipsam Katerinam consecranda erat, erat punctuata finaliter et conclusa. Et ut punctuationes et concordiæ verbis regiis et juramenti nexibus firmarentur, conventum est quod ad diem ex assensu partium præfixum rex Anglorum, usque civitatem Trecarum in præsentiâ memorati Caroli regis, cum tali pugnatorum potenti brachio quale sibi visum fuerit expediens, personaliter adveniret. Super quo pontes Charenton et Nogent, quibus regalis exercitus flumina pertransire poterit, in Anglorum liberantur custodias. Diem itaque adventûs regis præfigunt, citrà quem nisi rex ipse, proùt convenitur, Trecas adveniret, omnia præpunctuata quovis robore destituta vacarent. Comes Warwici habitis et prudenter acceptis singulis quæ tractatus continebat, initus expeditiori festinatione regem adiit, cui omnia proùt in tractatu concordata fuerant exponebat. Rex punctuationibus hujusmodi contentatum se reputans, mox exercitus suos quàmvis non pacem omninò peroptans quàm justæ guerræ si cogat opportunitas; VIIJ° die mensis Maii rex cum suis Pontiseram exiens in tres acies et alas duas, proùt more solito agi solebat, suum præpotentem dividens exercitum, iter versùs civitatem Trecarum aggreditur.[1] Et pertransitis villâ de Province et

The Earl of Warwick empowered to arrange preliminaries.

8th May. Henry leaves Pontoise,

[1] Henry had disposed his army in like manner when marching from Harfleur to Agincourt. The warlike suitor had had several

A.D. 1420. quodam oppido quod Nogent super Secanam nominant, cœpit post hos labores itineris civitati Trecasensi non magnâ mediante distantiâ vicinarum; habitâque mox de regis adventu propinquo notitiâ, dux Burgundiæ[2] in multitudine laudabili magnatum et procerum unà cum nobilioribus urbis, obviam regi procedens, ipsum cum honore debito recepit, et in urbem Trecarum regem cum suis introduxit, et usque ad regis Caroli palatium adivit. In ipsorum enim occursu principum et eorundem alternis gestibus, sic modus medius observatur utrilibet quod eorum neutri statui sensibilis superioritas videbatur ascribi. Occursu tali ut præfertur expedito, nunc rege præsente utriusque partis cura solita festinat in effectum deducere, quod prius auctoritatem sufficientem adepti magnates et prudentes de principum con-

and enters Troyes.

previous interviews with Isabella and Charles in an appointed neutral ground near Meulan-sur-Seine, (Monstrelet,) not Melun, as Miss Strickland writes, which is east of Paris.

"And then was the felde ryally apparelled of tentes and pavylyons on bothe sydes, bothe for Englisshe and for Ffrenche; and this felde was lysted and paled alle rounde aboute in bothe sydes, and in the Ffrenche syde stode a pale dyched for mystrust that they had of the Englisshe peple. And the Englisshe syde was not but barred. And on both sides certeyn men of armes were assigned to kepe the feld. And in the myddes of this felde stode a pavylyon ryalle with a large egle gylt for King Henry of England, and a tente stode afore agenst hit for the Ffrensshe kyng. And in his pavylyon and tente, by ordenance made, shold no peple come but tho that were swore to the Counselle of bothe partyes upon payne of deth." (M.S. Harl. 173, fol. 183.)

[1] The duke here spoken of is Philip the Good, for John sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, had been assassinated the previous September at the bridge of Montereau, whither he had gone by the advice of his *mignone* La Dame du Grat, balancing in his mind whether he would place the King and Queen of France in the power of England or of the Dauphin. His death, which took place just ten years after he had caused the Duke of Orleans to be murdered in the streets of Paris, deluged France with blood, and was the proximate cause of the overthrow of the monarchy for a time. He was generally regretted by the Flemings, whom he had governed with mildness and skill, and who admired his martial spirit. (Pasquier, Recherches sur la France; and Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne.)

A. D. 1420.

siliis, ut præfertur maturæ deliberationis studio, punctuabant. In ecclesiâ igitur cathedrali Sancti Petri Trecacensis xx° die dicti Maii conventionem principum solemnizat. Affuit enim rex Anglorum cum nobilissimis principibus, Thomâ duce Clarenciæ et Humfredo duce Gloucestriæ, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, proceribus numerosis. Affuit Isabella, Caroli conthoralis, et cum eâ Katerina eorum filia, unà cum principe duce Burgundiæ, et illius partis episcopis, prælatis, magnatibus et aliis in multitudine copiosâ.[1]

20th May. Convention at Troyes.

Hic omnibus sic congregatis, articuli præpunctuatæ concordiæ perleguntur: quos pars utraque non solum verbo regio, verum sigillis regiis ac juramento præstito ratificat et affirmat. Inter regem et dictam Katerinam contrahuntur sponsalia; cujus ex hoc rex curam suscepit et custodiam.[2] Ipsam quoque tamquam reginam salvo virginitatis pudore usque quo nubialis solemnizationem fœderis immensis honoribus tractari decrevit.

Henry affiances Katherine.

Articuli magnæ concordiæ pacis de verbo in verbum.[3]

Articles of the treaty between England and France.

Henricus, Dei gratiâ rex Angliæ hæres Ffranciæ et dominus Hiberniæ, ad perpetuæ rei memoriam, licet

[1] The particulars of the betrothment of Henry and Katherine are given in Miss Strickland's Life of Katherine of Valois. When the warrior-king was first presented to his future bride, he wore in his helmet a fox's tail ornamented with precious stones, upon which Miss Strickland remarks that he now and then indulged in a few whims regarding dress. But the fox was one of his and of his father's cognizances, as the wolf was that of Charles IV. of France; witness an ancient chart of the genealogy of the Dukes of York in Leland's Collectanea, vol. ii. p. 617. In the list of Henry's property rendered by his executors occurs, "1 cornet pur le chaperon de Roy garniz de VI baleis et XVI perles, pris en tout 21*l*. 2*s*. 8*d*. Item, 1 autre, garniz de VIII diamandes XXIII perles d'un sort et de CXV perles d'autre sort 59*l*. 7*s*. 8*d*." (Rot. Parl. iv. 218.)

[2] Henry assigned her his favourite knight, Sir Lewis Robsart, an intelligible hint that he meant to secure his prize.

[3] See Fœdera, ix. 895; and Villaret, VII. 265, 4°. 1770.

A. D. 1420. celebres tractatus atque varii pro Ffranciæ et Angliæ regnorum redintegrandâ pace, evellendisque dissidiis inter claræ memoriæ progenitores nostros ac inclytæ recordationis serenissimi principis Caroli patris nostri Ffranciæ, et nos hactenùs habiti expectatum inde pacis fructum non attulerunt. Nos nihilominùs in conscientiæ nostræ libramine ponderantes sinceriter quàm grandia, quàm irreparabilia mala, quamque enormem læsionem, ac universalem et immedicabilem plagam dictorum regnorum deploranda divisio intulerit hactenùs non eis solum, sed et toti, proh dolor! ecclesiæ militanti, nuper cum dicto serenissimo principe nostro pacis tractatum resumpsimus, in quo tandem post plurima nostrorum collationes et colloquia, (illo nostris affectum desideriis largiente, qui pacem pollicetur hominibus bonæ voluntatis,) inter eundem serenissimum principem Carolum præcarissimum patrem nostrum et nos, in ipso desideratissimo pacis negotio conclusum est et concordatum in eum qui sequitur modum;

In primis, quod quia per fœdus conjugii pro bono dictæ pacis initæ per nos et carissimam consortem nostram Katerinam, filiam dicti serenissimi principis patris nostri, et præcarissimæ matris nostræ Isabellæ conthoralis suæ, ipsi nobis effecti sunt pater et mater, idcircò eosdem patrem et matrem habebimus et venerabimur, ut decet venerari, tales et tantos principem et principissam, immò præ cunctis aliis personis temporalibus mundi.

Item, quod non turbabimus nec inquietabimus aut impediemus præfatum præcarissimum patrem nostrum quominùs teneat et possideat, quoad vixerit, quatenùs possidet et tenet de præsenti coronam et dignitatem regalem Franciæ et redditus, fructus et proventus eorundem ad sustentationem sui statûs, et onerum regni. Et præfata præcarissima mater

nostra etiam teneat, quamdiù vixerit, statum et dignitatem reginæ, secundùm morem regni prædicti, cum parte præfatorum reddituum et proventuum sibi congruâ et conveniente.

A. D. 1420.

Item, concordatum est, quod dicta consors nostra Katerina percipiet et habebit dotem in regno Angliæ, quemadmodùm reginæ hactenùs percipere et habere consueverunt, usque ad summam XL^a millia scutorum annuatim, quorum duo semper valent unum nobile Anglicanum.[1]

Item, concordatum est, quod nos Henricus rex prædictus, viis et modis et mediis quibus poterimus, absque transgressione vel offenso juramenti per nos præstiti de observando leges et consuetudines, usus et jura dicti regni nostri Angliæ, laborabimus et providebimus quod præfata Katerina consors nostra citiùs qùo fieri poterit, efficiatur in omnem eventum plenè secura de percipiendâ et habendâ dicto regno nostro Angliæ, à tempore obitûs nostri, dote prædictâ XL^a millia scutorum; quorum duo semper valent unum nobile, &c.

Item, concordatum est, quod si contingat dictam consortem nostram Katerinam nobis supervivere, percipiet ipsa et habebit de regno Franciæ, immediatè à tempore obitûs nostri, dotem ad summam XX^ti millium francorum annuatim, de et super illis terris, locis et dominiis, in dotem inclytæ recordationis Blanchiæ, quondam conthoralis, recolendæ memoriæ, Philippi Franciæ, proavi dicti præcarissimi patris nostri assignatis.

Item, concordatum est, quod immediatè post obitum dicti præcarissimi patris nostri Franciæ, et ex tunc deinceps, corona et regnum Franciæ, cum eorum juribus et pertinentiis universis, manebunt et

[1] We are here informed of the value of the scute, *3s. 4d.*

A.D. 1420. erunt nostri regis Henrici supradicti et hæredum nostrorum in perpetuum.

Item, quod pro eo, quod dictus præcarissimus pater noster tenetur ut plurimum quod dolenter referimus et præpeditur adversâ valetudine, per eum modum, quod commodè non poterit in personâ suâ intendere, seu vacare disponendis regni negotiis, idcircò ad totam vitam dicti præcarissimi patris nostri facultas et exercitium regendi et disponendi rempublicam prædicti regni Franciæ, cum consilio nobilium et prudentium ejusdem regni prædicti prædicto patri nostro obedientium, qui commodum et honorem ipsius regni dilexerint, penès nos Regem Henricum supradictum erunt et manebunt, ita quod nunc deinceps ipsam per nos et etiam per alios, quos cum consilio præfatorum nobilium, ad hoc duxerimus deputandos, regere possimus et gubernare. Quibus quidem facultate et exercitio regendi, sic penès nos Regem Henricum existentibus, efficaciter, diligenter, et fideliter laborabimus et intendemus ad id quod esse possit, et debeat ad honorem Dei, et dictorum præcarissimorum patris nostri et matris, necnon ad bonum publicum dicti regni, et ad ipsum regnum cum consilio et auxilio procerum, magnatum, et nobilium ejusdem regni.

Item, quod nos pro posse nostro faciemus quod curia parliamenti Franciæ custodiatur et observetur, in auctoritate et superioritate suis debitis, in omnibus et singulis locis, dicto patri nostro nunc et in futurum subjectis.

Item, quod nos pro posse nostro tuebimur et consolabimus omnes et singulos pares, et nobiles civitates, villas, communitates et singulares personas, dicto patri nostro et in futurum subjectas, in eorum juribus, consuetudinibus, privilegiis, præeminentiis, libertatibus et franchesiis eisdem competentibus sive

debitis, in locis quibuscunque dicto patri nostro nunc, et in futurum subjectis. A.D. 1420.

Item, quod nos Henricus rex supradictus diligenter et fideliter pro posse nostro laborabimus, et faciemus, quod justitiæ complementum administrabitur, et fiet in dicto regno Franciæ, secundùm leges et consuetudines et jura ejusdem regni, absque personarum acceptione; et conservabimus et tuebimur et defendemus eosdem adversùs violentias et oppressiones quascunque.

Item, concordatum est, quod nos Henricus rex supradictus pro posse nostro, providebimus et faciemus, quod ad officia, tam justitiæ parliamenti, quàm etiam balliviatus, senescallias præposituras, et alia spectantia ad gubernationem dominii, necnon alia quæcunque officia dicto regno Franciæ, assumentur personæ habiles, utiles, et idoneæ pro bono, justo, pacifico et tranquillo regimine dicti regni, ad ministrationem (*eis*) committendarum, ac quod sint tales, quales secundùm leges et jura ejusdem regni ad ea deputari deberent et assumi.

Item, quod nos Henricus Rex supradictus laborabimus pro posse nostro, et quàm citiùs id fieri commodè poterit, ad faciendum et ponendum in obedientiam dicti patris nostri omnia et singula civitates, villas, castra, loca, patrias et personas, infrà regnum Franciæ dicto patri nostro inobedientia, et rebellia quæ tenent in partem illam, seu existentia de parte illâ, vulgariter nuncupata Dolphini seu Armeniaci.

Item, ut præmissa commodiùs implere, liberiùs valeamus proceres et magnates tam spirituales quàm temporales, dabunt patri nostro juramentum in hunc modum: In primis, quod nobis Regi Henrico prædicto facultatem et exercitium disponendi, et regendi dictam rempublicam gerendi, ac jussionibus

A. D. 1420. et mandatis nostris humiliter et obedienter in omnibus, exercitium et regimen dicti regni concernentibus, per omnia parebunt et intendent, et multa alia juramenta et statuta et ordinationes ad numerum xxiij[or] ultra ista jam recitata quæ scribere temporis brevitas non permittit. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium præsentes literas nostras magni sigilli nostri munimine facimus roborari. Datum in ecclesiâ cathedrali Beati Petri Trecensi xxj° die mensis Maii anno dominicæ incarnationis M.ccccxx° anno regni nostri viij°.

2d June. Henry is married at Troyes.

Præfatis articulis proùt superiùs dictum est confirmatis et singulis requisitis sagaci providentiâ præparatis, diem tanti solemnizationis sacramenti festum Beatæ Trinitatis, diem inquam mensis Junii secundam, regalis cura constituit et assignat: in quo in ecclesiâ cathedrali Trecensi quæ tunc regi suæ hospitationis causâ quasi ecclesia parochialis fuerat, præsularis reverentia imperialis fœderis solemnizatione quâ decuit commendavit vincula. Nubit enim regia proles regi, sidus soli, nitor jubari, meridiei aurora, ver æstati, aurum jaspidi, lux claritati, &c. De ornamentis regiis, præsentiâ principum, magnatum et innumerabilis populi, solemnitate tantæ nuptialis convivii, cæterisque nuptiarum gaudiis et gloriosis solemniis interserere veritatem, stylum prolixioris exigeret narrationis. Immò fortassis expertus calamus à veritatis tramite deviaret. Hoc tamen animadvertet lectoris discretio et temporis qualitate ac cæteris circumstantiis pensatis, omnia circa ipsas nuptias honorificè sunt peracta. Et die iiij° mensis Junii, id est à celebratis nuptiis die iij°, rex suos exercitus revocavit in arva, et versùs urbem Senoriensem[1] primò rebellionis exuendam cornua,

4th June. He takes the field, and besieges Sens,

[1] Senoriensem pro Sennoniensem; Sens, the ancient capital of the Sennones.

A.D. 1420.

expeditâ festinatione maturavit itinera, et dictam urbem rebellem dicti mensis die VIJ° obsidionis cingulo circumcinxit; et dicti mensis die x° in manus memorati regis Caroli per virtutem regis Angliæ nunc sui generi potentiam reddiderunt. Aliæ quidem erant munitiones his eisdem conquestæ tunc temporibus quarum non occurrunt nomina, sed ad obsidium oppidi et castelli de Mustreaw faciendum, XVJ° die Junii applicuit magnanimitas regia, et dux Burgundiæ ad custodiam sibi per regem assignatam, eo pestilentiùs in obsessos sui furoris intendebat fulmina quo novit ibidem genitorem suum, proditoriâ fraude circumventum et extinctum fuisse. Et XXIIJ° die ejusdem mensis fugatis custodibus capitur oppidum, et præfatus dux Burgundiæ, humatum parentem quærens, et tunicatum et ocreatum in sepulchrum, armari reperiens, amari doloris aculeis sauciatus, alibi honorabiliùs inhumandum relevat. Rex post oppidum captum in capturam castelli studiosos conatus apponit, et IIIJ° die Julii castellum idem invictissimum, custodibus abeuntibus, ingreditur conquisitum.[1] Deinde versùs oppidum de Melum in exercitu valido viris illustribus cœpit cuneos catervatim disponere, habensque in comitivâ suâ Carolum Francorum regem, Jacobum Stuard Scotorum regem,[2] ipsas reginas Franciæ et Angliæ, Philippum ducem Burgundiæ qui etiam præfuit multitudini pugnatorum utriusque regum aliorumque principum et magnatum. Ibi etiam erant, ex

And Montereau.

Death of the Duke of Burgundy.

Siege of Melun.

July.

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[1] Henry presented Montereau to Sir John Gray, Earl of Tancarville. (Hardyng.) He caused the Duke of Burgundy to be honourably interred at Dijon.

[2] On the 12th of July, 42*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. was paid to James, King of Scotland, "as well for armour and other preparations for his person in the war, as for horses, tents, banners, and other things provided and purchased for him and other men attending him, upon his departure to foreign parts to go to the King's presence." (Pell Issue Rolls.) The young king was knighted of the Bath at the feast of St. George in 1421. (Anstis.)

A. D. 1420. parte regis, duces Clarenciæ, Bedfordiæ, Exoniæ, princeps de Oringe et dux Bavoriæ;[1] comites Marchiæ, Somersetæ, Huntyngdoniæ, Warwici, Marescalli,[2] Staffordiæ, Sarum, de Arundell,[3] de Vowe,[4] Suffolchiæ, Oxfordiæ; barones et domini, viz. de Rooce,[5] de Gray,[6] de Talbotte,[7] de Clifford, de Haryngton,[8] de Wyloby,[9] de Skales, de Ffyshew,[10] de Bowser,[11] de Feewater,[12] de la War, de Ferowes, de Charley,[13] de Clynton, de Ponyngs, de Morley, de Burgony,[14] de Scrope, de Ffehewe,[15] et alii nobiles

[1] Louis III., Elector Palatine, son of Rupert, King of the Roman Empire, called also the Red Duke from the colour of his armour. He had married Blanche, sister to King Henry, who died in 1409. (MS. Cott. Vitell. E. X. f. 80, b.) He was followed by a retinue of 700 well-appointed horsemen. The Prince of Orange, Louis de Chalon, shortly afterwards quitted the siege, not being willing to do homage to Henry, according to the provisions of the treaty of Troyes. (L'Art de ver. les Dates.)

[2] John de Moubray, K.G., Earl of Nottingham, and subsequently Duke of Norfolk.

[3] Probably John of Arundel, Lord Mautravers. There was a Sir Richard Arundel who served at Rouen with twenty men-at-arms and sixty archers, and subsequently a Sir John Arundel. Thomas Earl of Arundel remained in England. He was Lord Treasurer, Chief Butler, "Chief Naper et Gardein de la Naperie," and carried the second sword at Henry's coronation. (MS. Ashm. 863.)

[4] Possibly Sir William Bowes, who fell at the battle of Beaugé in 1421.

[5] John Lord Roos of Hamlake, who also died at Beaugé.

[6] Sir John Gray, K.G., Earl of Tancarville.

[7] John Talbot Lord Furnival. At Henry's coronation he claimed, in right of Maude his wife, "de trouuer un gaunt ove les armes de verdun sur mesme le gaunt a mayn dextre le roy, et de supporter son dextre brache." (MS. Ashm. 863.) The king gave permission to "Johan Lord Talbot and of Furnyvale" to make his profit of Donat Macmurgh, Irishman, "enemye d'Ireland," whom he took when he was lieutenant of Ireland. (Privy Seal Writs, Tower, 7 Hen. V.)

[8] John Lord Haryngton. There was also a Sir William Haryngton, K.G., who was severely wounded at Rouen.

[9] Robert Lord Willoughby of Eresby, K.G.

[10] Query. Sir Harry Chamfewe. (Poem in Archæol.)

[11] Hugh Stafford Lord Bouchier, K.G.

[12] Sir Walter Fitzwalter, son of the Master of the Hounds. (See Preface, p. xxvi.)

[13] Edmund Lord Ferrers of Chartley.

[14] Richard Beauchamp Lord Bergavenny, afterwards created Earl of Worcester.

[15] Henry Lord Fitzhugh, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

A.D. 1420.

et milites notabili multitudine. Et XIIJ° die mensis Julii rex cœpit obsidionis tentoria in ipsâ ruris planitie castrametari, et in fine mensis Novembris cepit celsitudo regia hoc triplex oppidum et castellum ac universa bona contenta in eisdem conquisita. Custodes quoque aliquos, juxta sua demerita, justitiæ justâ administratione, morti condemnat.[1] Alii vero eorum, immò plures, Parisiis et alibi arce carcerali mancipantur custodiæ, non aliter quàm voluntas regia decrevit liberandi. Regalis providentiæ solicitudo circumspecta dictarum munitionum turres et mœnia per multimoda guerrarum genera in gravem diruta ruinam, expeditione celeri reparari ac in statum pristinum ac præstantiorem reduci mediis ad hoc opportunis ordinavit. His etiam ac aliis ad earum tutelam sufficienter stabilitis, majestas regia ac Francorum rex et utraque regina civitatem Parisiensem in maximo principum et aliorum comitatu, ibidem celebraturi parliamentum sive consilium, ingressi sunt;[2] ubi Carolus, Francorum rex, in

Capture of Melun. November.

Henry and his queen enter Paris. 1st Dec.

[1] During the siege of Melun, Henry sent, in the name of the King of Scotland, to the Scotch soldiers who composed part of the garrison, and commanded them, on their allegiance, to abandon the cause they had espoused, and to range themselves under his standard; but they refused compliance, declaring that they would not obey a monarch who could only act according to the will of his captor. Henry, to his eternal disgrace, after he had gained possession of the town, executed twenty of these brave soldiers, while pretending to punish an affront offered to his illustrious prisoner. (Holinshed.) The execution of one of his French vassals, Bertrand de Chaumont, was more justifiable. He had connived at the escape of Aymerion du Lau who had been concerned in the murder of the Duke of Burgundy, and he did so for a pecuniary consideration. (St. Rémy.) The London Chronicle mentions that all the chieftains and soldiers taken at Melun were led to Paris "in the crook of the moon;" and as a proof of this ill-luck, it is added, "for there escaped thence but few alive." Melun (Melodunum) was formerly captured by Labienus. (Cæsar, book vii.)

[2] The two kings, accompanied by the Red Duke, entered Paris on Dec. 1st., the queens on the following day. (Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris.)

A. D. 1420.

Treaty of Troyes ratified by Charles.

totius conspectu consilii à regio solio se erigens, jam sanæ mentis ac integerrimæ discretionis constanter innotuit, et prudenter asseruit dictam pacis concordiam apud Trecas per ipsum et totius regni Franciæ consilium consideratam, executam et perfectam fuisse; ipsamque in universis articulis suis, sese, et hæredes et successores observaturos fore, denunciat. Carolus quoque, ejusdem regis Franciæ filius, Dolphinum [1] se reputans, propter Johannis nuper ducis Burgundiæ detestandam, horrendam, proditoriamque extinctionem, et alia infinita enormia per ipsum et fautores suos in totius regni Franciæ excidium perpetrata, coronâ Franciæ ac omni sceptrali dignitate ex regum et totius consilii decretis et assensu, justè ac jure judicatur et palam decernitur in perpetuum inhabilis et indignus. His et aliis singulis quæ rei-publicæ procuratorum justis desideriis pro ipsius regni statu prospero, querelata seu desiderata fuerant, regis Angliæ discretio circumspecta Carolo regi et toti consilio exponere intendens, causam suam in hoc esse ut regnum suum Angliæ, quod à diu querulosis suspiriis suam lamentabatur absentiam et adventum expectat,[2] quàm citius posset in ipsius consolationem viseret. Sed ne quid suscepti oneris Caroli et regni Franciæ regimine neglectum inveniri posset, pro utriusque tutelâ et custodiâ prudenter providere disposuit; et ducem Clarenciæ tanquam cæteris magnè dignum regiæ majestatis locum-tenentem in regno Franciæ et alibi, pro absentiæ suæ tempore, decretum regale constituit; ducemque Exoniæ ad regimen Caroli

[1] Elmham, Dolphinum Viennæ.

[2] After the king's return to France the Commons intreated the Duke of Gloucester to use his influence with the king and queen to induce them to return home in a short time. (Rot. Parl. iv. 125.) They perhaps feared that their court might be established at Paris, and England become tributary to France.

Francorum regis suis meritis ad hoc exhortantibus deputavit: et Carolo Regi et aliis regni Franciæ nobilibus more regio valefacto, assumptâ secum Reginâ conthorali suâ, Parisiis exiens et iter suum versùs Angliam dirigens, post paucas et expeditas dietas appropinquavit Calesiam: ibidemque tam mercatores quàm oppidani magna et pretiosa, jam primò visæ reginæ, contulerunt munera.[1] Et classe jam paratâ, ventus utilis et consonus regem et suos transvexit in altum, prosperoque navigio mox Dovoriæ præsentavit portui: et sic celsitudo regia ad civitatem suam Londoniam processit. Cui nobiliores cives inæstimabili perfusi gaudio, ejusdem sectæ amœnitate vestiti occurrerunt. Nihil enim in his defuisse arbitror, quod fidelis populi obedientiam et amorem arguere seu probare valebat. Aliquot dierum modicus intercursus præteriit, et regalis celsitudinis id volente decreto, regina versùs urbem jam dictam iter arripuit; cui non minùs solemnitate quàm priùs Regi obviarant, non solùm civitas et mira cleri processio, immò quod multò magis juxta sæculi fastum præferendum, de regis sanguine principes ac comites, barones, milites et proceres, invisis immò inauditis apparatibus occurrerunt. His et aliis gaudiis, Regina ducebatur in urbem. Et diei coronationis advenit vigilia, in quâ tractatis immò maturis peritorum sententiis, punctuatis instantis celebritatis negotiis, principum et magnatum assis-

A.D. 1420. December, Henry and his queen depart from Paris,

and arrive at London, Feb. 1421.

[1] Henry and his queen stayed at Rouen about a month on their homeward journey. We find writs dated from that city on December 20th and January 23rd. Whilst there he sent Lord Poynings and two knights to conduct the Duke of Bourbon to his presence, and he then liberated him upon certain conditions. Elmham remarks that they were entertained at Calais by the merchants *of the staple*, that is, of wool and hides. The king and queen arrived at Dover on the 1st of February, 1421, or, according to MS. Cott. Claud. A. viii., on the 3rd of February, and at London on the 14th.

A. D. 1421. tentia copiosa, principissarum et dominarum famulosa obsequia et aliarum personarum venerabilium numerosa multitudo; reginam de turre Londoniæ, niveis circumamictam vestibus, in vehiculo quodam miro cultu radioso, quod equi nobiles ditissimis trappaturis amicti gestaverant residentem, comitibus, magnatibus usque Westmonasterii adduxerunt palatium. Et ibidem pernoctans crastinæ coronationis expectabat honorem. Successit dies illa exultationis mensis Februarii xxij^a.[1] reginalis coronationis; et in ecclesiam beati Petri coronæ dignitatem subitura, ducta erat; consuetæ et in hâc parte debitæ tam spirituales quàm temporales observantiæ, utrimque solemnizantur. Coronatam reginam, his expletis solemniis, deducunt in regiam ubi inthronizatæ reginæ status plurimùm gloriosus, principum et magnatum, dominarum et mulierum nobilium ornamenta splendidissima, ad diversa servitia ex antiquis ritibus per Senescallum Angliæ deputatorum, et omnium quæ mensarum solemnia promovere valebant. Gaudeat regina his honorata solemniis, et tantæ celebritatis festivam plenitudinem, ignorantiâ ad hoc coactus relinquat calamus indescriptam. Deinde reginalis nobilitas partim devotæ peregrinationis prætextu, partim ut regionis suæ statum experiatur et regimen, multas et varias ipsius partes intendebat visere. In quo itinere non solùm loca benedicta et sanctorum visitavit feretra, verùm etiam pauperum querelas exaudiens, opprimentibus et oppressis justitiæ complementum ministravit.[2]

22nd Feb. Coronation of Queen Katharine.

Henry and his queen visit the Provinces.

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[1] The MS. Claud. A. viii., and MS. Ashmolean, 863, place the coronation of Queen Katharine on the 21st of February. The latter MS. contains a full account of the services performed by the great officers at Henry's coronation. The reader is referred to Miss Strickland's Life of Queen Katharine for the details of the pageant.

[2] Writs and letters are dated from Westminster, 12th March; Leicester, 19th and 27th March;

A.D. 1421.

The Dauphin collects an army.

Interim dictum Carolum Dolphinum prætensum et fautores suos, Regis Angliæ à partibus Franciæ non latebat absentia. Quamobrem ut conquisita per regem ipsius Caroli ditione reducerent, et quæ ille Rex collegit in unum dispergerent, comites quidam Scottorum ac Franci adhuc ipsius parti Caroli adhærentes, cum aliis sibi faventibus, in magnum pugnatorum convenerunt exercitum. Quo agnito, ille nobilis Dux Clarenciæ, præter quem nemo regiæ nobilitati secundus æstimari potuit, quo nemo paratior ad arma, nemo in actibus militaribus illustrior, mox, ut Regis adversariorum obviaret incursibus, strenuum ac validum Anglicorum exercitum vocavit in arva, constituens sub se armatorum capitaneos et præfectos Comitem Huntyngdoniæ, Comitem Somercetæ, Comites de Perche, fratrem ejus, Dominum de Roos, Dominum Feewater,[1] et quàmplures alios dominos et milites quorum nomina non occurrunt memoriæ numeranda. In hoc itinere plura fortalicia et munitiones armorum viribus per Anglos obtenta sunt. Pertransiit enim hic Anglorum exercitus per totam Cenomanniæ provinciam, et

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York, 2nd and 8th April; Lincoln, 15th April; and Lambeth, 9th May.

Before Henry set out, he took the priory of Keryngdyn into his safe keeping, and committed it to the prior of L'Anthony, beside Gloucester. (Letters Missive, Tower; date, Webley, 7th March.) Whilst Henry made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. John of Beverley, Bridlington, his queen went to Pontefract, (Kirkstall Chron. Dom. A. xii.) in all probability to see her brother-in-law, the Duke of Orleans. What conflicting emotions this visit must have occasioned! Pontefract, the den of her sister's first and second husbands!

[1] The three earls here named were taken prisoners at Beaugé, and the Lord Roos fell there. The Earl of Huntingdon remained a prisoner in France for two years and a half, when he was exchanged for Sir Ralph de Gaucourt and the Sire de Fonteville. No less a sum than 8157*l*. 14*s*. 9*d*. had been advanced by him to the king. Henry, grateful for his valuable services, bequeathed him 2000*l*. and another 1000*l*. for the carracks he captured off Harfleur. (Rot. Parl. iv. 247.)

A.D. 1421. 22nd March, Battle of Beaugé.

demum usque Andegaviam post plures dietas perventum est. In sacrosanctæ verò Paschalis festivitatis vigiliâ significavit Duci exploratorum assertio, quod hostilis exercitus innumerosus ac pomposus pugnatorum multitudine in vicinâ distantiâ se præpararent ad prœlium. Quâ de re animosi Ducis nimium accensa ferocitas non expectato suorum adventu, nec congregato suo exercitu, sed disperso, ordinationis requisitæ industriâ neglectui traditâ, eâdem horâ, festino et nudo circumspectionis impetu arcitenentibus non vocatis, postposito consilio, cum paucis capitaneis et nobilioribus quos prætextu propinquioris assistentiæ, personæ suæ promptiores sors adversatrix reperit, usque adversariorum stationes accelerat, pertransiensque arcto satis passagio rivulum juxta castrum de Bawge, invenit equestres præmissos per hostes, quos omnes quamquàm plures mox in fugam convertit. Parsque ipsorum Anglicorum paucorum quos secum adduxerat fugientes insecuta est, et ipse dux cum paucissimis nobilioribus tum in campo remansit. Hostilis vero exercitus, quem hucusque à ducis conspectu montis cujusdam obumbravit summitas, mox jam ut tempus et locum suis desideriis opportuna perpendit, repentino, horrendo ac immisericordi impetu in prænobilem ducem et ipsum pugnatorum manipulum irruit. Et quamvis ipse cum suis ut exitus rei probarat usque ad extremum anhelitum nobiliter dimicavit, absorbuit tum rivulum pelagus, interiitque in hoc subitaneo conflictu ille decus et decor militiæ, dux illustris, et alii omnes.[1] Vix unus hujus infortunii horâ per-

Death of the Duke of Clarence.

[1] This calamity was occasioned by the over-confidence of the English earls, "who would not take with them archers, but thought to have done with the Frenchmen themselves without them. And yet when he was slain the archers came and rescued the body of the duke, which they would have carried with

transiit, et hostes tantis cæde et prædâ contenti sese retraxerant, et mox potentissimus Anglorum exercitus, quem dux nimium festinè post se dimiserat, jam congregatus in loca funerea venit. Hoc tardum et tam dolendum excidium supra modum plangentes, ducis tamen et cæterorum magnatum corpora collegerunt. Turbavit hujus sinistri casûs infortunium omnes amicos regis Anglorum, miseruntque ad eum seriem rei gestæ, orantes ut per festinum regressum regium in ipsas partes mœstis ac penè desperatis, promptæ[1] consolationis gaudia dignaretur impendere.

A.D. 1421.

Piissime princeps! dux qui inopinatæ mortis invidiâ peremptus est, frater tuus, miles tuus, famulus tuus erat, ut tuos magnificaret honores armaturam induit, in tuis obsequiis tot et tanta horrida et lethalia vulnera perpessus est. Frangitur fortissimus tuæ inclinationis baculus, ærarii militiæ thesaurus pretiosior alius exhaustus est. Delucet lapis coronæ tuæ politissimus, honoris tui fervidissimum zelatorem crudelis manus sanguinis avida interfecit. Primam lucernarum tuarum furientis mortis fulmineus flatus extinxit. Lugent cives Amorrhæorum, de mediis sublatus est; plangant milites, militiæ fons exaruit. Subditi tui mœrent tanti protectoris orbati solatio,

them. God have mercy on his soul! He was a valiant man." (MS. Claud. A. viii.) Richard Rede remarks that on this occasion "Bastardus Clarenciæ et alii plures evaserunt." (Rawlinson MS. c. 398. Bodl.) Sir John Swinton, a Scottish knight, first struck the duke, whose coronet sparkling with jewels, pointed him out as an object of attack. (Buchanan Hist. Scot.) John Stuart, Seigneur de Darnellé (Darnley) et Concressault, was created Seigneur d'Aubigné sur Nièvre, in consequence of his having taken the Earl of Somerset prisoner. See Letters of Charles VI. to the Court of Scotland, informing them of this circumstance, not in very good faith with his lately-signed treaty at Troyes. (Documents inédits.) For the list of killed and prisoners, see Appendix II.

[1] MS. 'pro parte,' but the better reading of Elmham is inserted.

A.D. 1421

qui totiens triumphator extitit, jam triumphantibus hostibus devictus interiit. Conquisitos tuos timoris gravitas invadit, quorum ex hoc casu securitas imminuta est. Talem amisisti, cui vix similem reperire poteris. Nec mirum, si fraternæ genæ siccari nesciant, si pupilla regis ab imo pectoris exortas dirivet lachrymas, si præcordia regis doloris tela persentiant, cùm extraneorum gemitus, ignotorum ululatus, notorum querulosus murmurat;[1] ex tam cumulatâ dolorum materiâ, mundum mœrore replere non desinant. Hæc et alia compassio: hujus certaminis modum, finem et effectum discernat discretio regia, et virorum illustrium sententia. In hoc conveniunt quod huic languori nulla medela securior, huic jacturæ nulla relevatio paratior quàm regis in transmarinas partes in manu potenti acceleratio festina.

Misit igitur rex singulis qui ab ipso in illis partibus provinciarum, oppidorum, castrorum seu quarumcunque munitionum, onus, regimen, seu custodiam acceperant, tam consolationis quàm comminationis literas, affirmans quod veniens veniet, præcipiensque sub pœnâ capitis ne quis onus sibi ante impositum negligeret, seu munitionem in sui custodiam traditam, ante ejus adventum ab adversariis quovis pacto capi seu occupari permitteret. Deinceps omni curâ solicitâ in vicinam transfretationem præparabat; medio tentoque ac in brevi consummato apud Westmonasterium parliamento. Et nunc juxtà ejusdem propositi succursum à comitate parliamenti obtinere potuit,[2] quare gravè considerans et in mente revolvens, qualiter perdere pridem conquisita formidans,

Parliament at Westminster.

[1] Elmham, 'notorum querulosa murmura.'

[2] In consequence of the subsidy voted, Henry raised a force of about 5000 noblemen and gentlemen, and 5000 archers. For a list of the men-at-arms, see Appendix III. Walsingham makes the number of this force 15,000 warriors. (Hypod. Neust.)

A.D. 1421.

juxta posse suum virorum expeditorum ad arma exercitu potenti contentè congregato; mensis Junii die x°, reginâ juxta communitatis desideria,[1] in Angliâ remanente, in portu Dovoriæ personam regiam committebat navigio, et statim in portum Calesiæ, optatum applicationis locum, totam classem inducunt. Exiens igitur Calesiam,[2] continuatis diebus Dolphino prætenso, jam suas provincias et proprias in magnâ potentiâ subvertenti, qui jam oppidum et castellum de Gaylerdon proditoriè acceperat, occursurum ire festinat. Hostis tum expectare formidans, vecordis fugæ succursum cum suis elegit. Et quia oppidi et castelli de Dreux oppidani et custodes suas vicinias immisericorditer vexabant et opprimebant, rex dicti mensis die XVIIJ° utraque strictâ obsidione circumcinxit, et VIIJ° die mensis Augusti, rege annuente, concordatum erat quod nisi ante finem duodecim dierum auxilium aliundè haberent, oppidum et castellum se regiæ ditioni submitterent. Dies præfixus advenit; succursus obsessis defuit; et præfata appunctuatio effectum sortita est. Et circa XXIIJ^m diem Augusti castrum de Crocy capitur, castrum de Tylliers, oppidum de Nogent, castra de Parman et Galardon, et multa alia armorum viribus in sui redditionem coacta fuerunt.[3] Deinde rex versùs oppidum Bogensem,[4] ubi hostilis exercitus proùt audierat congregari decreverat, celeriori expeditione quo commodè poterat festinavit. Veruntamen (post) paucas

10th June, Henry embarks for Calais.

18th July, besieges Dreux, which submits.

23rd August, captures numerous castles.

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[1] Elmham, 'juxta ejus decreta.'

[2] The king reached Rouen by the 17th June. (P. Seal Writs.)

[3] From the 21st of July to the 26th of August, Henry dated his writs from "nostre host à St. Denys de Morunvall près Dreves," (Dreux.) The remains of the keep and Norman gateway still exist. Du Chesne remarks, that Dreux (Gallo-Celtic, Durocasses) was named after the Druids. (Antiquités des villes de France.) Near the town of Nogent-sur-Seine, Abelard founded the celebrated monastery of the Paraclete.

[4] Beaugency-sur-Loire.

A.D. 1421. dietas juxta prædictum oppidum rex castrametatus fuisset, audivit hostes qui congregari cœperant præ adventûs ejus timore, proût factum erat, dispersos fuisse; oppidumque prædictum quod hostis defendebat, rex per recolendum insultum nobiliter conquisivit. Invalescebat in exercitu regio fames valida nimis, quæ tam bestias quàm viros plures extinxit. Post aliquot dies castellum de Rogemont[1] quod viris fortibus custoditum erat, et victualibus copiosè instauratum, aggressu prænobili et insultu longo valdè obtinuit, et castellum consumi incendio jussit: et ad oppidum vocatum Villam Novam xxij° die mensis Septembris obsidionem applicuit, et statim obtinuit. Deinde versùs civitatem Meldensem obsidione capiendam absque moræ dispendio se direxit. Et tandem post longa certamina et diuturna tempora, cœperunt inclusorum pectora timore languescere, et hinc intolerabilibus guerrarum fatigati dispendiis, hinc omni spe succursûs frustrati, apud se statuerunt ut viri fortiores et aptiores ad pugnam cum bonis divitiis civitatis in Mercatum fugerent;[2] debiliores verò et innumerosus vulgus ne Mercati staurum consumerent, remanerent in urbe. Quo facto rex faciliter civitatem accepit.[3]

Captures Rouge-Mont castle, (near Orleans) and Ville-neuve,

22nd Sept.

Meaux is besieged,

and at length surrenders.

Et circa hæc tempora nunciatum est per fide dignos nuntios de nativitate filii sui Henrici Sexti, quem jam in festo Sancti Nicholai[4] regina pepererat in Angliâ apud Wyndeshore, pro quo Omnipotenti Deo grati-

The birth of Henry VI. announced.

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[1] "En ce temps print le roy d'Angleterre deux villes moult nuisants à Paris, que les Armagnacs tenoient, à scavoir, Rangenay et Ville-neuve-le-Roy. (Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris.)

[2] The market was held in a small islet formed by the river Marne, which surrounded it as a fortress. (Du Chesne, Les Antiquités des Villes de France.)

[3] During the siege of Meaux, the Count de Foix signed a treaty of alliance with Henry and Charles VI. He was continued in the government of Languedoc. (See Goodwin, p. 326.)

[4] 6th of December.

arum actiones in exultatione devotissimâ persolvit. Deinde rex obsidionem circa oppidum Mercati posuit, et plura grandia saxivoma nocte dieque horrore suo inclusos affligentia, et muros ut suæ naturæ erat horrendis vulneribus rumpentia locari fecit: et sic magnis et diris conflictibus et asperrimis pugnis post longa et gravissima certamina fermè VIJ. mensium ad tractatum inclusi super sui redditione admitti humillimarum precium instantiâ deposcunt. Sed quia rex ibidem ex suis nobilioribus, viz., dominum comitem Worcestriæ,[1] dominum de Clyfford, et consanguineum suum filium domini de Phanappe,[2] et alios quamplures nobiles milites et viros strenuos, perdidit, se ad tractatum difficilem ad tempus reddidit. Tandem tamen ad evitandam sanguinis effusionem ut etiam quidam malefactores notorii potiùs punirentur secundùm juris et justitiæ exigentiam etiam ne bona quibus Mercatum copiosè affluebat juxta virorum merita distributa forent, mensis Maii die primâ cum obsessis punctuari et concordari permisit, ut Mercatum et omnes obsessi cum universis bonis suis, nisi infrà decem dies per succursus aliundè liberati forent, ad meram regis redderentur voluntatem; quosdam tamen secundùm justitiam tractandos fore, vel ad vitam, vel ad mortem. Rex prænuntiat

A.D. 1422.

Siege of the Islet by Meaux.

Its surrender 10th May.

[1] The Earl of Worcester (Richard Beauchamp) was interred at Tewkesbury. (Atkins' Glouc.)

[2] The son of Sir John Cornewalle, Lord Fanhope. The Cardinal des Ursins relates, that the father exclaimed, on the death of his son, "The king brought us here to recover Normandy, and now he is attempting to deprive the dauphin of his throne," and that then Lord Fanhope immediately returned to England in disgust.

Henry had sent to England for Arthur of Brittany in order that he might persuade his brother, the Count d'Estampes, from succouring the Duke of Burgundy. Arthur commanded the men-at-arms at the siege of Meaux. (Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne, I. 559, 560.)

According to Appendix, No. II., the Lords Deyncourt and St. Mer (?) and Sir William Gaston, also fell at Meaux.

A. D. 1422. June 8th.

Anglicos, Hibernicos, Wallicos, Scotos priùs ad partem regis juratos, ac etiam qui excidii ducis Burgundiæ participes erant à regali gratiâ punctuatio excepit: et die limitato, nullo ferente suffragia, rex Mercatum et omnes inclusos cum universis bonis suis juxta prioris punctuationis decreta recepit. Deinde vicina castra et oppida quæ cùm nec succursiva solatia sibi conferenda fore arbitrati sunt, sponte ditioni regali confluunt reddenda.[1] His negotiis ad tam recolendum deductis exitum rex civitatem Parisius adiit ubi festum Pentecostes devotissimè solemnizat. Postquam concomitante reginâ quæ jam ab Angliâ venerat, usque Silvanectum[2] proficiscitur. Illustrissimum principem gravis languoris immò multum gravioris quàm putavit, invasit acerbitas, et ipsum venerabile corpus regale quod hostium insultus evasit, continuæ ægritudinis in-

Henry leaves Paris for Senlis.

His sickness.

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[1] Henry employed nearly the same expedients to gain the island as he had done to win the town of Meaux. The walls were undermined and battered by his machines. A sow, that is a lofty tower on wheels, with a projecting platform, was pushed up to the bridge, and enabled the men-at-arms to command it. Another tower, erected on two large boats, was floated down to the walls. (Elmham.) Henry executed the Bastard of Vaurus, captain of Meaux, upon the same tree upon which he had been accustomed to hang every Englishman whom he could seize upon. (Bourgeois de Paris.) After the fall of Meaux, Compiègne, Gournay-sur-Aronde, Cressonsac, Mortemer, Crespy en Valois, le Châtel de Pierrepoint, Merlan, Auffemont and some other places surrendered to Henry; also all the places that held to the party of the Dauphin from Paris to Crotoy, amongst others the towns of Gamaches, St. Valéry, Rambures, and others. He sent 3000 troops to Cosne, under the command of the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Warwick. (Fénin and Monstrelet.)

[2] Senlis. Traces of Roman buildings still remain. From Senlis Henry proceeded as far north as Compiègne to inspect the disposition of his forces, but within three days he returned to Senlis. (Elmham.) Katherine had crossed the Channel and landed at Harfleur on the 21st May. Henry left Paris the morrow of the Fête-Dieu, (June 7th,) taking with him the King and Queen of France. (Bourgeois de Paris.) One writ, however, is signed from Paris on the 9th.

A.D. 1422.

sultu vexatum est. Cùmque indies invalesceret infirmitas, certis nuntiis didicit quod magnus exercitus Dolphini prætensi partem tenens, post multa damna et exactiones gravissimas partibus Burgundiæ facta jam oppidum de Cosne quod ducis Burgundiæ erat, obsiderat; ipsum per punctuationem cum oppidanis factam quod nisi ante certum diem limitatum superveniens occursus obsidionem levaret, recepturus redditum. Quo agnito, rex propriæ infirmitatis immemor, sed fœderis initi cum duce Burgundiæ reminiscens, expeditâ festinatione exercitum de suis congregat, et versùs oppidum suæ subventionis auxilio liberandum quia nimiæ infirmitatis gravitate debilitatus equitare non potuit, se in vehiculo tali quali infirmi equis portantibus deferri solebant, insufficientiam ferri jussit. Cùmque usque oppidum de Corbuyle post aliquot dies pervenisset invalescente tam gravis ægritudinis incommodo, ulteriùs versùs hostes absque ultimato vitæ dispendio deferri nequivit.[1] Misit igitur in hujus executionem negotii duces Bedfordiæ et Exoniæ cum notabili exercitu in quorum occursus dux Burgundiæ potentiâ notabili armatorum advenerat; qui post pauca castris hostilibus proximare cœperunt. Sed obsidentes inire fugam et oppidum ab obsidionis cincturâ solutum reliquerunt, et duces prædicti cum Anglis ad regis præsentiam redierunt. Sed cùm post dies paucos multò inimiciùs quàm priùs ægritudinis gravitate vexabatur, versùs castrum Boscuvicennarum, ubi per infirmitatis tempora jam decrevit quiescere;[2] ipsa quoque pestis funerali amaritudine

July. Henry takes to a horse-litter,

and reaches the castle of Vincennes. August.

[1] The march from Senlis to Corbeuil was a very long one for Henry to undertake in his then weak state of health.

[2] When the king arrived at Charenton, whither he had been conveyed from Corbeuil by water, flattering himself that he was stronger than he really was, he mounted his charger, but, after a few steps, finding he could not endure the pain it occasioned

A. D. 1422. plena, modi et mensuræ nescia, totum mundum thesauro præcipuo spoliare, totius militiæ abyssum exsiccare festinat. O lues amara! an ignoras in quem tam dirum virus inflare præsumis? quem tam sævis tormentis afficis? quem de tristi mundo gratularis tollere? Ipse rex est, immò gloria regum, magnanimitatis exemplar, militiæ speculum,[1] æmulator justitiæ, æquitatis zelator, Franciæ et Normanniæ triumphator. Tu eum conquirere intendis, tu, proh dolor! tam illustrissimi regis membra puncturis tuis torquere non erubescis. Tu nimis infestè tanto principi nullam horam quietis indulges. Tua cæca præsumptio inter principem et pauperem non discernit. Invidia tua citrà mortem tantum regem punire non novit. Quid perferam? Rex devotus ac prudens, perpendens apud se quod ejus ægritudinis gravitas citra mortem verisimiliter cessatura non foret, in quotidianis confessionibus, eleemosinarum largitionibus, et in adventum mortis securè expectandum se disponit. Per triduum verò antè mortem ducibus Bedfordiæ et Exoniæ ac aliis nobilibus familiaribus suis coram eo constitutis sic eos constanti sermone allocutus est. "Certum est," inquit, "quod juxta Salvatoris beneplacita, mortem

His dying instructions to the royal Dukes.

him, he resorted to his horse-litter, in which he was carried to the castle in the Bois-de-Vincennes. (Elmham.) A barge called "Esmond del Toure" had been repaired for the king's use on the Seine. (Pell Issue Rolls.)

The anonymous Bourgeois de Paris makes the following observations in his Journal. In this year it was remarkably hot in June and July, and rain fell only once or twice, in consequence of which the kitchen-gardens and the fields did not return the half of their seeds, so that the oats and the barley were pulled up by the roots without reaping; and in that year were so many children ill of the small pox, that never living man saw the like; and many great men had it, especially the English, and it was said that the King of England was affected with it. See the Chron. de Normandie.

[1] Simon de Montfort was designated in one of the popular songs of his time, "Totius flos militiæ." (Warton, Hist. Eng. Poet.)

jam imminentem secundùm universæ carnis conditionem, evitare non potero. Si igitur per tempora regni mei aliter quàm deberem rexerim, vel cuiquam aliquid injustè fecerim cujus oppositum æstimo, veniam supplex deposco. De bonis servitiis præsertim in his guerris mihi impensis, grates vobis et aliis commilitonibus vestris refero, pro quibus, si mors intentionem meam non prævenisset, cuique juxta sui merita digna compensa præmiasse proposui.[1] Fratri meo duci Bedfordiæ custodiam et regimen Franciæ et ducatûs Normanniæ, usque ad filii mei discretionis annos, committendum fore decerno. Angliæ vero protector et defensor sit frater meus dux Glocestriæ. Avunculum meum ducem Exoniæ et avunculum meum Henricum episcopum Wintoniæ unà cum comite Warwici circa regimen filii mei,[2] quem misericors Dominus supernæ benedictionis rore perfundat, attendentes fore volo et decerno." Post hæc astantes principes et magnates qualiter in omni regimine politico se haberent longo sermone mirâ prudentiâ informavit. Testamentum suum,

[1] The chronicler has omitted the following sentence:—"Has enim guerras, usque ad pacem habitam, continuare vos exhortor, ad quos coram Deo protestor, nec dominandi, nec inanis gloriæ, seu mundani honoris ambitiosa libido, seu quævis alia causa, nisi solummodò ut justo titulo prosequendo, simul et pacem et jura propria obtinerem, me allexit, eramque ante ipsarum guerrarum principia, per sanctæ vitæ viros perfectos et prudentissimos pleniùs instructus, quod ipsas inchoare, prosequi, et finire justè et sine animæ periculo, hac intentione deberem et possem." (Elmham.) Alas! that Henry should have so deceived himself! He had not the shadow of a claim to any territory east of Paris.

[2] Elmham only associates Sir Walter Hungerford, seneschal of the household, with the Duke of Exeter, in the guardianship of the young prince; the names of the Bishop of Winchester and the Earl of Warwick are added by this chronicler, who is borne out by Monstrelet and St. Rémy as to the name of the Earl of Warwick. They add also several other particulars which are given in Goodwin, p. 336, particularly Henry's injunctions not to discharge from imprisonment the Duke of Orleans and other French nobles until his son should be of age.

A. D. 1422. priùs in Angliâ circumspectè conditum,[1] et alios codicellos suæ voluntatis ultimè testativos eis ostendit, in quibus summas maximas ad solvendum tam ipsius quàm regis patris sui debita quàm circa familiarium suorum retributionem disponendas, legavit. Et post hæc de cætero se et sensus suos mundanis noluit immiscere negotiis. Jam egressuræ animæ salus eterna regem solicitat. Nunc ad eternæ beatitudinis bravium[2] cursus dirigit. Tandem verò inter tanta et majora piæ contemplationis opera, Dominici corporis et sanguinis[3] et extremæ unctionis sacramenta in cordis contriti et spiritûs pœnitentis humilitate recepit. Cùmque in extremis laboraret, hos sermones, "Mentiris, mentiris! portio mea est cum Domino Jesu Christo;" quasi spiritum malignum audacter alloquendo locutus est. Deinde extrema suspiria rapiens, imaginem crucifixi devotè amplexus, "In manus tuas, Domine, ipsum terminum redimisti," cum valido clamore proferens, perfectè et devotissimè finivit, infra jam dictum castrum, mensis Augusti die postremâ, regni vero sui anno decimo.

He receives the Sacraments,

and expires, 31st August.

Jam hument regales thalami lacrymis querulis, ululatibus palatia resonant, turbata corda lamentis indulgent, aculei dolorum gementum viscera perfodiunt, languida mordaces jam pulsant pectora curæ, submersæ sunt maxillæ lacrymarum diluviis, amari fletus abyssum, diri doloris acerbitate respersâ fontes oculorum ebulliunt, nil superest quod gementes demulceat, nihil est quod lamentorum

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[1] Dated July 21, 1417. (Chapter House, and Harleian MS. 35.)

[2] Bravium pro bræbeium or brabeium; (Gr. βραβεῖον) the reward of victory. (Coles' Lat. Eng. Dict.)

[3] The important fact of the king having partaken of the sacrament in both kinds, will not escape the reader.

gemebundos excursus delinire sufficit. Exclamant Angli, "Jam turris nostræ fortitudinis amaræ mortis procellosis insultibus eversa est! montem unde nobis auxilium veniat immisericors mare mortis absorbuit! nostra gaudia, consolationes, et tripudia, unà cum rege nostro et protectore nostro, duce et directore nostro, sepulta sunt!" Galli vero, præsertim Parisienses, non minore dolore cordium tacti intrinsecùs, non minore læsione sauciati, cum vix habeant qui de cætero evellant de laqueo pedes suos; "Proh dolor!" inquiunt, "cum justo principe justitia simul interiit." Et cùm talia inter se gementes alternarent colloquia, fletus uberrimi, tunsiones pectorum et tortura manuum, anxii et inficti doloris verissima signa fuere. Sed cùm per hujusmodi suspiria, gemitus, et lamenta, nulla medela tanto languori confici possit, ad funerales observantias accedamus. Mox post animæ nobilis egressum, regale corpus aromatibus conditum, panni linei securissimè cerati, et telarum plumbearum multiplicatura multiplici, juxta morem in tali negotio requisitum et solitum, involutum in cistam ligneam pannis cericis, ut decuit, circumtectam repositum est. Jam currus funeralis lugubribus circumtectus amictibus, et equi nobiles ejusdem sectæ nigerrimæ trapaturis induti, ad eundem trahendum limitati, parati sunt.[1] Reponunt in currum corpus venerandum, et valdè proceræ staturæ statuam ad regis similitudinem fabricatam, vestimentis regalibus pretiosis indutam, dexterâ sceptrum et in capite coronam gerentem, supposuerunt. Rex Scotorum,

A.D. 1422.

His corpse is embalmed,

[1] The royal corpse remained at the castle of the Bois-de-Vincennes until the feast of the exaltation of the Holy Cross (Sept. 14th), when it was carried, without entering Paris, to St. Denys, where, on the morrow, the funeral obsequies were performed; thence by way of Pontoise to Rouen. (Bourgeois de Paris).

A. D. 1422. Sept.

dux Bedfordiæ, dux Burgundiæ, dux Exoniæ, et principes et magnates, robis amicti funeralibus, ad currum insequendum parati coassistunt; et versùs Angliam omni die ac nocte exequiæ, missæ et vigiliæ et aliæ observantiæ solemnizatione funerali celebrantùr. Cùm post aliquot moderatas dietas usque prope civitatem Rothomagensem perventum fuisset, majores ac nobiliores burgenses quos omnes consimilis nigredo vestiverat, in manibus propriis magna luminaria deferentes, facies suas uberrimis lachrymarum exterminantes fluviis, honorando corpori processerunt obviàm. Peractis[1] itaque quibusque quæ in urbe Rothomagensi perfici decuit, duces Bedfordiæ et Burgundiæ deputati ad regimen Franciæ et Normanniæ in ipsâ civitate remanserunt. Regina et rex Scotorum, dux Exoniæ, et alii comites et barones et nobiles milites corpus regium in Angliam deduxerunt. Quodque dolorosus planctus et planctuosi dolores Anglos mœroris vehementiam vix sustinentes &co. (*sic*) Plangit enim Anglia mortuum, ut regio regem et magnificum protectorem,

and carried, by way of Rouen,

[1] MS. 'paratis,' but the reading of Elmham is followed. Henry's mortal remains were carried by way of Abbeville and Monstreuil to Calais, passing by Hesdin, where Henry had received the French heralds prior to the battle of Agincourt; one hundred torches continually burning before the cortège. The four horses attached to the funeral car were decorated with the following arms:—the first, with the arms of St. Edward; the second, the arms of France and England, quarterly; the third, the arms of France; the fourth, the arms of the "noble and invincible" King Arthur, viz., three crowns or, upon a shield azure. (Monstrelet.) In a MS. by Gilles le Bouvier, Berry Herald to Charles VI. (MS. Colbert 1867. Bibl. du Roi) there is a pictorial representation of Arthur, bearing these arms upon his shield, with the following verses underneath, which may be compared with the history of Arthur in Layamon's Brut;—

"Je fu roy de Bretaigne, Descoche et Dengleterre,
Graint roialme je vos par ma force conquerre.
Le grand gaiant et ufto fis morir et deffaire
Sus le Mont St. Michiel; un aultre en allais querre.
Je vis le Sang Gréal, mes la mort me fist querre,
Qui m'occit veaus (vieux), puis que Dieu vit sus terre."

maritum vidua, soror fratrem, et mater filium. Post multas quidem lachrymosas solemnitates et celebritates lugubres, corpus regium usque ad Westmonasterium adductum est, ibidemque post missas, exequias, et alias plures observantias devotissimas, inter regum sepulchra traditur honorificæ sepulturæ.[1] Cujus anima concivis et cohæres supernorum civium fieri lætetur.

A.D. 1842.

to Westminster.

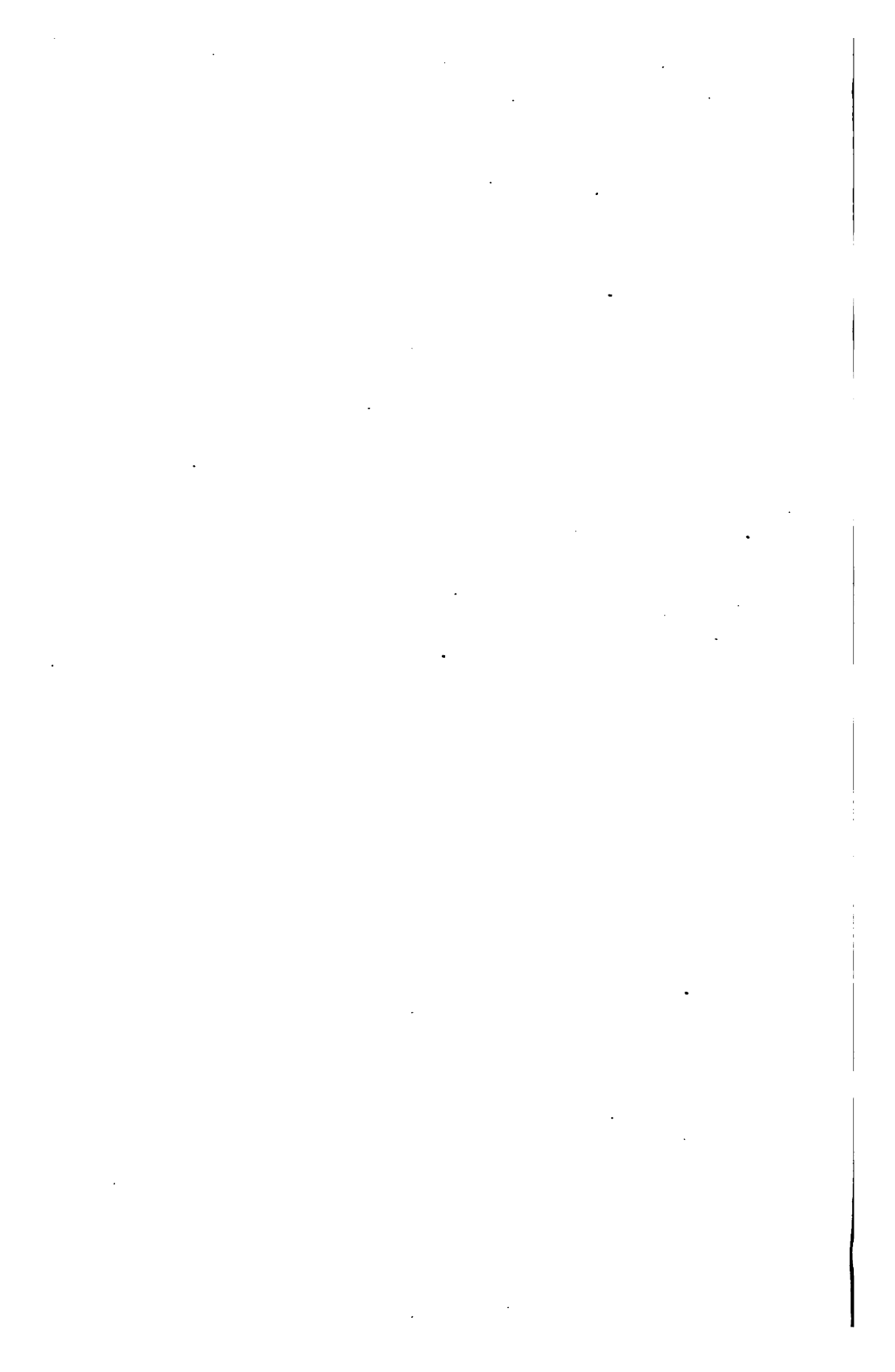
[1] The funeral procession passed through Canterbury, Ospringe, Rochester, and Dartford, at each of which places funeral rites were performed; 300*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* was paid to Simon Prentot, waxchandler of London, for the hearses provided by him. (Pell Issue Rolls.)

On Henry's monument in Westminster Abbey was the following inscription:

"Gallorum mastrix jacet hic Henricus in urnâ. Anno 1422. Domat omnia virtus."

And on that of his royal consort:

"Pulchra virumque sociat tandem Catharina. Anno 1437. Otium fuge."

FINIS GESTORUM REGIS.

FRAGMENT

RELATIF À LA NORMANDIE,

EXTRAIT D'UN MANUSCRIT PAR GEORGE CHASTELAIN,

CHEVALIER, ARCHIVISTE DE LA TOISON D'OR,

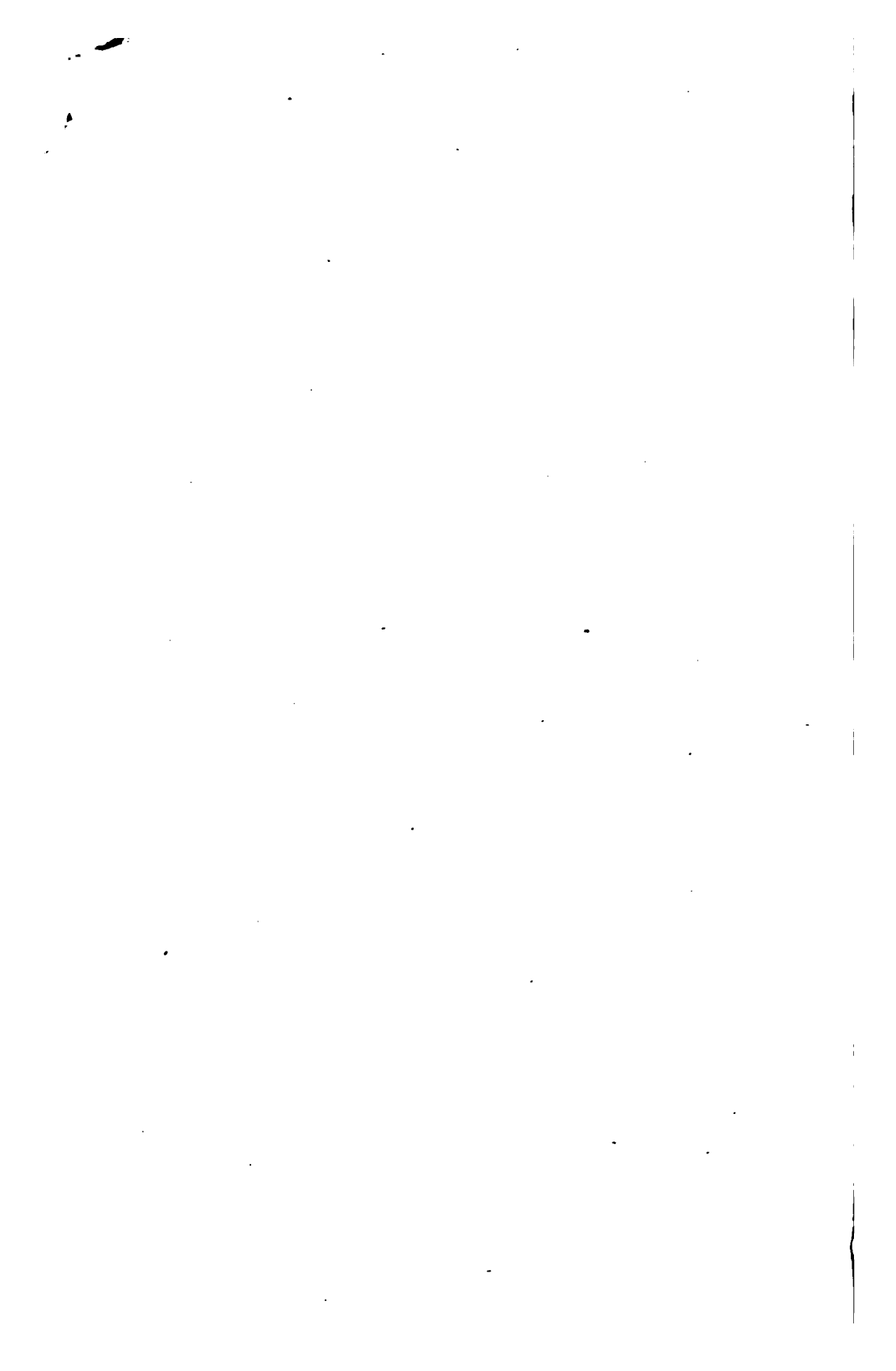
CONSERVÉ DANS

LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE PUBLIQUE DE ROUEN,

AVEC

LES VARIANTES FOURNIES PAR DEUX AUTRES MANUSCRITS,

DES ÉCLAIRCISSEMENTS,

UNE TRADUCTION, ET UN GLOSSAIRE.

CHRONIQUE DE NORMANDIE.[1]

A.D. 1414.

June. English ambassadors arrive in France.

AN mil IIII^{cc}XIIII au moys de Juign vindrent en France les ambassadeurs du Roy Henri de Angleterre / cest assauoir / larcheuesque de Canthurbie / le sire de Gray et ung escuier nomme Vastreton[2] et plusieurs autres en leur compagnie / lesqueulx ambassadeurs somerent le roy de France de rendre les terres appartenantes au roy dAngleterre / cest assauoir / le pais de Normandie / de Guienne / dAngeou et du Maine / afin deuiter leffusion du sang humain, qui pour la guerre pourroit ensuir / la quelle requeste ne leur fut pas acordee / mes pour auoir paiz entre les deux roys leur fut offert le pays qui est entre la Tarantte[3] par deuers Gascoigne / mais a celle offre ne se vollurent tenir / mais volurent auoir pour toute chose les pays qui sieent entre la riuiere de Laîre /[4] desquelx ilz furent escondis / pour quoy ilz se partirent sans paix et sans acord faire.

En lan mil IIII^{cc}XV Henry roy dAngleterre se mist en mer / auecques luy grant armee / cest assauoir / les ducs de Clarance et de Glocestre ses

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[1] Worcester's MS. is here designated as *A*, the Chronique de Normandie referred to in the Preface, *B*.

[2] *A*, 'Cantorbiere, Gre, Wastreton.'

[3] *A*, 'Charente.'

[4] *A*, 'de Caux;' *B*, 'de Loyre.'

A.D. 1415.

King Henry lands with an army at the promontory of the Pays du Caux, 13th Aug.

freres, de Waruyk et de Salbery, de Homptinton[1] et Dorset son oncles, auecques plusieurs autres en leur compagnie tant quilz estoint bien mil v^{cc} nefs, qui descendirent au chiesf de Caulx Et fut la premiere descente le XIII^{e}[2] jour dAougst et les jours ensuiuant, tant quilz vindrent dauant la ville de Harefleu et midrent le sege deuers la mer, et la demoura le roy dAngleterre, et son frere le duc de Clarance passa de lautre partie deuers Rouen, Et dura celuy sege lespace de XXX jours dauant celle ville, ou estoint adoncques le sire dEstouteuille, le sire de Gaugourt[3] et moult dautres cheualiers et barons de ceulx[4] qui grandement deffendirent la ville, mais comme fortune le vouloit consentir parceque la ville estoit trop batue de grosses bombardes que les Anglois auoint amenees, et pour ce que trop auoit de gens mallades et blecez[5] dedans la place, leur conuint traiter que, leurs vies sauues,[6] rendroint la ville et de leurs biens servis a la volente du roy, dequoi il aduint quil fist laisser aller[7] le commun dehors sans leurs biens emporter, mais il retint les riches et principaulx bourgeois de la ville, et a touz les nobles hommes fist promettre que ilz se rendroint a luy a Callaiz dedans la St. Martin[8] prochaine ensuiuant, et ainsi le firent la plus grant partie qui longuement furent prinsoniers au pays dAngleterre Par celle promesse sen allerent dehors de Harrefleu leurs corps tant seullement,[9] et la dicte ville demoura aux Anglois le XXIIII^{e} de Septembre, par quoy le pays de Caulx fut gaste et les menues fortresses arses et destruites.

Harfleur besieged,

and taken, 24th Sept.

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[1] *A*, 'et les contes de Warwyk de Salisbury et de Haunthiton,' &c. [2] *B*, 'le mardi XIII.'
[3] *A* and *B*, 'Gaucourt.'
[4] *A* and *B*, 'de Caux.'
[5] *A*, 'blechiez.'
[6] *B*, 'moyennant leurs vies sauves.' [7] *B*, 'chasser.'
[8] *B*, 'Michel.'
[9] *B* adds, 'sauves.'

En celle ville de Harrefleu demoura en garnison le comte Dorset a tout grand compagnie dAnglois, et le roy dAngleterre print le chemin par terre a tout son ost pour aller a Callaiz le x^e jour dOctobre, mes son frere le duc de Clarance sen alla par mer pour cause quil estoit mallade Parmy le pais de Caulx passa adonc le roy dAngleterre pour cuider[1] passer Somme a la Blanche-Tache,[2] mais les gens du roy de France qui les poursuyuoint et pour lors estoint dedans Abeuille leur destournerent le passage, et conuint les Anglois aller amont[3] la riuiere de Somme par dauant Abeuille, puix a Amiens, a Corbie et a Peronne, et de nuyt audessus passerent la riuiere.

A.D. 1415.

Henry sets out for Calais, 10th Oct.,

and passes the Somme.

En la ville de Peronne estoint adonc les ducs de Bourbon, celuy dAlenczon (qui auoit este fait duc a la feste de Nouel celuy an et sa conte muee en duchie[4]) le duc de Bar, les comtes dEu et de Vandosme et de Richemont, le sire de Labret[5] connestable de France, le mareschal Boucicaud,[6] et auecques eulx grant cheualerie tant quilz furent nommez x mille hommes darmes, qui poursuyuoint lost du roy dAngleterre, lesqueulx sitost quilz sceurent que les Anglois estoint passez la riuiere de Somme se mirent sur les champs pour les poursuyure Si cheuaucherent les Anglois droit a Hindir[7] sur ce que les deux ostz auoint promis par heraux lun a lautre combatre le Jeudi xxiiii^e[8] dOctobre, mes les Franczois[9] qui les poursuyuoint sitost quilz sceurent

Is pursued by a French army.

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[1] *B*. 'pensant.'
[2] *A*, 'Blanche-Taque.'
[3] *B*, 'contrement.'
[4] This remark *deest* in *B*.
[5] *B*, 'de Breth.'
[6] *A*, 'Boussiquault;' *B*, 'Boussicault.'
[7] *A* and *B*, 'Hedin.'
[8] *B*, 'le xxii jour d'Octobre.'
[9] Franch', pro Franchois. "C'est Franchoys, le Roy des Franchois," (MS. of the 16th century, No. 1394, Bibl. Roy. de la Haye.)

A.D. 1415. quilz furent passez Somme[1] ils se mirent sur les champs, et les Anglois ne tindrent par leur conuenant celui jour[2] plus a senestre que en droit chemin, neantmoins quant les Francois virent ce ilz cheuaucherent par dauant en tranchant pais pour venir au deuant au pas dune riuiere qui court a Blangy en Tenoys,[3] tant que iceluy Jeudi au vespre[4] sentreuirent les deux osts et logerent la nuyt les ungs pres des autres.

The Battle of Agincourt, 25th Oct.

Le Vendredi xxv^e^ jour du dict moys, feste Saint Crespin, au matin furent les batailles ordonnees dun coste et dautre A celle heure vindrent les ducs dOrleans et de Brebant et le comte Daneuers[5] son frere auecques les Franczois, chacun des troys a petite compagniee pour viure ou pour mourir en la dicte bataille Celuy jour assembla la bataille[6] en ung val empres Agincourt,[7] et auoint lors les Francois ordonne III^cc^ hommes a cheual armez pour rompre les archiers des Anglois entre les batailles, et comme ilz furent pour assembler se cuiderent ferir les gens a cheual parmy les archiers, mais le trait des flesches leur venoit si fort que par force les conuint retraire entre leurs gens, tellement quilz rompirent lauant garde qui estoit pres coment[8] pour assembler,[9] et donc coururent les gens a pie et a cheual suire[10] et piller les cheuaulx et sommages des Anglois quilz auoint laisse derriere eulx pour combatre[11] Si se commencza adonc la bataille en celuy jour au val dessusdict, la ou les Franczois

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[1] *B*, 'qu'ilz ne tenoyent pas leur droit chemin.'

[2] *A*, 'et tindrent leur voie plus,' &c.

[3] *A*, 'Ternoys.'

[4] *B*, 'au soir.'

[5] *B*, 'd'Anvers.'

[6] *B*, 'assemblerent les batailles.'

[7] *B*. 'Aguincourt.'

[8] *A*, 'comme.'

[9] *B*, 'comme à l'assembler.'

[10] *A*, 'prendre.'

[11] This sentence *deest* in *B*.

estoint en la terre si molle quilz y fondoint, et dont pour celle cause et pour ce quilz auoint este rompuz des cheuaulx ne se peut la bataille rejoindre mais de plus en plus se print a desconfire,[1] et fut celle journee contre eulx Lors estoit grand pitie de veoir les mors et les naurez qui sur les champs gisoint a terre, et du nombre des gens darmes lesqueulx retournerent fuyans.

A. D. 1415.

Quant le duc dAlenczon regarda ainsi les Francois desconfis si monta a cheual pour les ralier, mais pour nuyant[2] fit, car il ne le pouait faire Et doncques quant il vit quil ny auoit remede si retourna combatre en la bataille qui uncores duroit, ou il fist tant darmes et si vaillamment[3] que cestoit merueille de le regarder, et tant que en la place fina ses jours Encore estoit le duc de Bretaigne ses gens et les gens au roy de Cecille, Loys derrien,[4] qui ne furent pas a celle journée, et auoint geu[5] le Jeudi a Amiens, et le Vendredi comme il partoit luy vindrent les nouuelles de la desconfiture, parquoy il retourna, nonobstant quilz feussent assez pour combatre les Anglois derechiesf En celle bataille moururent les ducs de Brebant, dAlenczon, de Bar, le comte de Aneuers, le sire deLabreth qui estoit connestable de France, et de VII a VIII^m cheualiers et escuiers de France et de Henault, et aucuns prinsoniers[6] Et des Anglois moururent le duc dYork, le comte de Suffoult[7], et des aultres grand nombre que lon ne pouait saueoir bonnement parceque touz les mors estoint ensemble Si furent prinsoniers a celle jour-

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[1] *A* adds, 'tant que ainsi que Dieu voulloit tourneroit les Francois a desconfision.'

[2] *A*, 'neant.'

[3] *B* adds, 'se porta.'

[4] *A*, 'derriere;' *B*, 'lors derriere,' which is the true reading. Louis was ex-King of Sicily.

[5] *A*, 'jeu.'

[6] *B*, 'et aucuns qui furent prins prisonniers.'

[7] *A*, 'Suffolk.'

A.D. 1415. nee les ducs de Orleans et de Bourbon, le comte dEu et de Vandosme et de Richemont, le mareschal Boucicaut et plusieurs autres Comme celle bataille fut oultrée les gens au roy Loys de Secille venoint en la place[1], si eurent les Anglois doubte que derechiesf ne feussent combatuz, par quoy ils firent crier que chacun tuast son prinsonier sinon les signeurs, par quoy plusieurs prinsonniers moururent La nuyt de celuy Vendredi les Anglois geurent sur les champs et desarmerent les mors qui la estoint[2]

26th Oct. Henry continues his march to Calais.

Landemain jour de Samadi XVI^e jour dOctobre[3] se partit de la place le roy dAngleterre a tout les seigneurs quilz emmenerent de celle journee, si cheuaucha vers Guynes et de la a Callaiz et de la se resfroischit Et adonc le comte de Charroloys, filz[4] du duc de Bourgoigne,[5] fist benneir le champ et enterrer les mors fors les corps des signeurs quil fist porter chacun en sa terre.

The Emperor of Germany arrives at Paris,

En celuy an vint a Paris lempereur dAlmaigne, roy de Boesme et de Hongrie, pour traicter la paix des roys de France et dAngleterre, et fut logie au Louure, et adonc traicta longuement de la matiere de la paix auecques le conseill, parceque le roy nestoit pas en conuenable essence[6] mais tres fort ocupe de sa malladie, si ne peurent adonc conuenir ensemble Et doncques lempereur passa en Angleterre ou il fut longuement logie a Wastmonster et recuilly honorablement, et quant il sen retourna le roy dAngleterre rapassa auecques luy jucques a Callais, si fut la mande le duc de Bourgoigne qui

and proceeds to England.

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[1] *B* adds, 'qui adonc s'apparurent.'

[2] *B* adds, 'pour avoir leur argent.'

[3] *A*, 'Samedi, XXVII^e jour;' *B*, no date.

[4] *A*, 'ainsne filz.'

[5] *A* adds, 'qui estoit a Arras.'

[6] *A*, 'en conualescence.'

estoit en Flandres par le sausf conduyt du roy dAngleterre, et son frere le duc de Glocestre tint hostage pour luy a ce quil feust retourne en la ville de St. Omer du dict parlement, lequel fut tenu secret entre eulx, car nul si non des troys ny auoit este De Callais se partirent lempereur, le roy, et le duc, et sen retourna chacun en sa contrée sur lacord en quoy ilz estoint demourez Adonc par la mort du sire deLabreth qui auoit este mort en celle bataille nommee Aginncourt fut baillee lespee de conestable au comte dArmignac, lequel adonc vint a Paris pour exercer loffice, et le comte Dorset oncle du Roy dAngleterre demoura lors a Harrefleu en garnison comme ouy auez.[1]

A. D. 1415.

Meeting of the Emperor, King Henry, and the Duke of Burgundy.

En celuy an mil IIII^{cc}XV le comte Dorset partit de Herefleu et alla cheuaucher es parties de Caulx jucques a Cani[2] sur la rauiere de Granuille, et au disner[3] y mirent le feu Si auint adonc que le comte dArmignac, qui ja estoit connestable de France, estoit sur les champs a tout grant compagnie de gens darmes, tant des siens comme des frontieres, comme missire Loys de Longny, missire Thebaud[4] de Laual et plusieurs autres Et donc celuy jour que les Angloys estoint partiz de Caulx,[5] le XIIII^{e} jour de Mars, sentre-encontrerent sur les champs a Bienuille[6] prez de Vallemont Si descendirent lors les Angloys a pie et les Francois non, mais en la partie ou estoit le sire de Longny furent[7] ses gens parmy tout a cheual, et lors en departirent ceulx quilz encontrerent Et le comte Dorset a tout lautre partie se tindrent en bataille sur une fosse au bort[8]

(A. D. 1416, N. S.)

The Earl of Dorset makes a foray.

14th March, he encounters the Earl of Armagnac.

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[1] The whole of this paragraph from 'En celuy an' is omitted in *B*.

[2] *A*, 'Cony;' *B*, 'Cany.'

[3] *A* 'and' *B*, 'au deslogier.'

[4] *A*, 'Thibault.'

[5] *B*, 'de Cany.'

[6] *B*, 'Vienuille.'

[7] *A*, 'ferirent.'

[8] 'bort' pro bord.

A.D. 1415. Battle of Cany.

dun jardrin⸝ ou les Francois ne peurent entrer pour leur courir seure[1] En celle place et en lentree du jardrin ot des Angloys mors de VII a VIII^cc par le rapport de ceulx qui les enterrerent⸝ et les autres se tindrent a pie en leur place dauantage tant que la nuyt vint⸝ et adonc les deux comtes parlerent a saufues treues sans que amme sceust que ilz sentredirent fors eulx Et apres ce le comte dArmignac fist sonner sa trompille et laissa les Angloys en icelle place⸝ et adonc soy alla loger a Vallemont luy et sa compagnie⸝ dequoy touz les Francois furent mal contens et courroucez⸝ car, comme ilz disoint⸝ ilz estoint assez pour les combatre sil eust vaillu⸝[2] mais ainsi sen allerent⸝ et perdirent les Anglois touz leurs cheuaulx et barnages[3] La nuyt ensuyuant partirent les Anglois tout de pie et fort trauaillez⸝ si se retrairent vers la mer⸝ et toute celle nuyt allerent par dessus les greues droit a Harrefleu Landemain monta a cheual le comte dArmignac et sa compagnie⸝ si les poursuyt tant quil les attaignit pres du chiesf de Caulx errants sur la mer[4] Et descendirent les Francois pour les aller combatre⸝ mais le comte dArmignac ne ceulx de la bataille ne descendirent point et ne se bougerent de dessus la fallaise⸝[5] et regardoint touz ceulx qui se combattoint dessoubs eulx sans leur ayde ne faire aucun confort⸝ par quoy les Francois furent desconfiz tant quil y en eut grant foeson de mors dun coste et dautre⸝ mais toutesfois les Anglois eurent le meilleur Ilz y moururent plusieurs gentilz hommes et cheualiers du pays de Caulx⸝ entre lesquelx mourut le signeur de Villequier qui vaillament soy y

[1] *B*, 'courir sus.'

[2] *A*, 'pour illoecques les combatre sil eust voullu.'

[3] *A*, 'bagaiges.'

[4] *B*, 'sur les greues.'

[5] *B*, 'ains se tint sur la faloyse.'

porta Apres ce les Anglois sen retournerent dedans Marrefleu[1], et le comte dArmignac sen alla a[2] Monstreuillier sans autre chose faire.

A.D. 1415.

Divisions in France.

En celuy an mil IIII^cc^XV trespassa le duc de Guienne ainsné filz du Roy de France le XVII^e jour de Nouembre a Paris, par la mort duquel la succession de laysneesse des barons[3] de France succeda a messire Jehan penultime filz du comte de Pontieu, qui auoit espouse la fille du comte de Henaut, et pour crainte daucuns nosa venir ledict comte de Pontieu en France pour aucuns qui tenoint la bende du duc dOrleans, car ilz vevint[4] touz les biens vueillans du duc de Bourgoigne, come le comte de Tancaruille et plusieurs autres, pour lesquelles causes le comte de Henaut alla a Paris pour apaiser les choses dessusdictes, tant que le dict comte de Pontieu y peut aller seurement, et dautre part pour certain traictie quil auoit parle de la paix au roy dAngleterre, laquelle estoit en termes destre faicte Et pendant celle chose quil estoit alle faire ce veage a Paris, fut emprisonne le comte de Pontieu a Compeigne, de quoy il mourut tres hastiuement, et le comte de Henaut fut emprisonne[5] a Paris, tant quil vint mourir a Compieigne, dont ce fut grant pitie.[6]

John Duke of Bedford relieves Harfleur.

Lan mil IIII^cc^XVI a lentree dAougst se mist en mer Jehan duc de Bethfort, frere du roy de Angleterre, atout grant armee, pour venir resfreschir la ville de Harrefleu que les Francois tenoint lors adestroit de famine par carraques de Gennes[7] et autres vessaux qui estoint sur la mer pour garder

[1] *A*, 'Harrefleu'; *B id.* and adds, 'sans autre chose faire.'

[2] *A*, 'dedans.'

[3] *A*, 'des enfans.'

[4] *A*, 'haieent.'

[5] *A* omits, 'fut emprisomne.'

[6] The whole of this paragraph from 'En celuy an' *deest* in *B*.

[7] *A*, 'Jennes.'

A. D. 1416. August.

que secour ne venist nene peuent entrer en nulz viures, et sur la terre par grosses frontieres enuiron establies Et arriua le dict duc de Bethfort[1] dauant Harrefleu le jour de la my Aougst a tout III^{cc} voiles Si combattit a tout celles carraques et autres[2] qui avoint este enuoyees de par le roy de France, tant que celuy jour fut le nauire des Francois desconfit, les ungs prins et les autres senfuirent, parquoy icelle ville fut resconfortée nonobstant que le comte dArmignac connestable de France feust a Honnefleu a grant compagnie qui gardoit la descente de celle partie Lorsque Harrefleu fut auitaillie[3] sen retournerent le duc de Bethfort en Angleterre a tout son nauire et carracques quil auoit conquestees.

The duke attacks and defeats the French fleet.

Paris governed by a clique.

En celuy temps nauoit a Paris aucuns des signeurs du sang royal, mais estoit lors le royaume gouuerne par le dict connestable, par messire Henri dArmalle[4] chancelier de France, Jehan Piquet leuesque de Clermont, et maistre Ligier de Vauligny,[5] qui auoint tout en gouuernement En celuy an trespassa le duc de Berry a Paris et fut porte a Bourges enterrer.[6]

6th Oct. The Earl of Huntingdon attacks the Spanish and Genoese fleet off Harfleur.

En ce contemple pour la cause dautre nauire qui uncore estoit dauant Harrefleu, de Genneuois[7] et Espaignelx et autres pour contraindre,[8] si partit dAngleterre une flote de nauire[9] duquel estoient chiesf et cappitaine le comte de Homptinton, et vindrent dauant le nauire des Francois qui estoit a Honnefleu[10] le VI^{e} jour dOctobre, et lors de la maree vindrent pour combatre Mais les Espaignelx sen fuirent a tout leur nauire, par quoy les quarraques[11]

[1] *A*, 'Bedford.'
[2] *A*, 'autres vesseaulx.'
[3] *A*, 'reconferte.'
[4] *A*, 'de Maille;' *B*, 'de Marle.'
[5] *B*, Roger de Bauligny.
[6] This last sentence *deest* in *B*.
[7] *A*, 'Jenevois.'
[8] *A*, 'contraindre la ville.'
[9] *A*, 'armee de mer.'
[10] *A* adds, 'ou les vesseaulx des Francois estoient.'
[11] *A*, 'les carraques qui estoient demourees.

A. D. 1416.

nestoint par bien garnies de leur equipage⸗ tout le nauire[1] fut celuy jour desconfit Et le bastard de Bourbon fut prins qui de la flote estoit cappitaine⸗ et auecques luy plusieurs autres Dereschiesf fut ainsi Harrecourt[2] secouru et auitaille qui adonc estoit en grant necessite Et apres sen retourna celle flote en Angleterre a tout ce quilz auoint gaigne.[3]

The men of Rouen join the Duke of Burgundy.

En celuy an mil IIII^{cc}XVI. sesleuerent aucuns du commun de Rouan et la plus grant partie pour la faueur quilz auoint au duc de Bourgoigne⸗ voullans de fait eulx meptre en son obeissance⸗ et user par entre eulx de leur autorite contre lonneur et signeurie du roy de France⸗[4] et allerent de nuyt malicieusement tuer en son hostel messire Raoul de Gaucourt baillif de Rouan⸗ et celle nuyt jetterent en Sayne de dessus le pont ung nomme Jehan Legier[5] qui fut son lieutenant⸗ auecques luy ung sien neueu⸗ et plusieurs autres exceix et oultrages commirent contre droit, et raison et justice Pour[6] le conseill du roy enuoiea a Rouan leuesque de Lisieux et le sire de Bacqueuille[7] en esperance de les appaisier⸗ mais oncques ne peurent riens faire⸗ pour quoy le daulphyn de Vienne nomme Charles⸗ le plus jeune des filz au roy de France⸗ auquel estoit venue celle succession de la mort son frere Jehan le comte de Pontieu⸗ se mist sur les champs a grant compagniee de gens darmes⸗ auecques luy de duc dAlenczon filz de celuy qui mourut (à) Agincourt⸗ missire Thomas de Gincourt⸗[8] missire Jehan de Harrecourt⸗ Pierre du Riex[9] mareschal de France⸗ et plusieurs autres en sa compagnie.

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[1] *A* adds, 'de Franchoys.'
[2] *A* and *B*, 'Harfleu.'
[3] The last sentence *deest* in *B*.
[4] *A* adds, 'leur lige et souuerain seigneur.'
[5] *A*, 'Ligier.'
[6] *A*, 'Pour laquelles choses.'
[7] *A*, 'celuy de Bacqueuille.'
[8] *A* and *B* insert 'Messire Charles de Bourbon,' instead of 'T. de Gincourt.'
[9] *A* and *B*, 'de Rieux.'

A. D. 1416.

The Dauphin repairs to Rouen, but is refused admittance.

Adonc vint le daulphin a Sainte Katherine sur Rouan pour cuider entrer en la ville de Rouan,[1] laquelle ville luy fut tenue, non pas a sa personne, mais ainsi comme ceulx de la ville disoint, pour les estrangiers qui estoint en sa compagnie, neantmoins allerent devers luy a Sainte Katherine des plus notables bourgeoys de la ville de Rouan, auecques le sire de Grasmenill, qui lors en estoit cappitaine, eulx excuser que par eulx nestoit point celle rebellion, mais par gens de menus meistiers comme drapiers et autres.

Au chastel de Rouan estoit leur cappitaine Pierre de Bourbon, lequel mist les gens du daulphin dedans[2] la grosse tour du chastel pour garder le dict chastel contre la ville, et quant le daulphin eut este en la bataille longuement dauant Rouan, le xxv^e[3] jour de Juillet, et que la porte luy feust contenue,[4] se retrayt a Desuille en lostel de larcheuesque ou il fut troys jours, et la luy presenterent des vins ceulx de la ville Cestz troys jours durans missire Loys de Harrecourt qui pour lors estoit archeuesque de Rouen,[5] lequel estoit dedans, parlementerent a ceulx de la ville et au daulphin quil leur pardonast pour ce que ilz sestoint rebellez contre luy, et si leur accorda que les estrangiers ne seroint point logez en la ville, et partant y entra luy et sa compagniee, et fut fait cappitaine a leur requeste Jehan de Harecourt nepueu de larcheuesque a touz telz gens comme ilz demanderent.[6]

Defection of Dieppe.

En cel an se rebella la ville de Dieppe Si mirent dedans missire Guy le Bouteiller qui tenoit la bande[7]

[1] *A*, 'Rouen.'

[2] *A* and *B*, 'par la grosse tour.'

[3] *A*, 'xxvi^e.'

[4] *A*, 'contretenue.'

[5] *A* and *B* add, 'et missire Jean Mallet, aisne fils de Grauille.'

[6] From 'et si leur, accorda' to 'demanderent' *deest* in *B*.

[7] *A* and *B*, 'la partie.'

du duc de Bourgoigne et autres ses semblables qui tindrent celle ville grant espace de temps, et firent guerre aux autres fortresses qui ne tenoint point la partie, comme Arques, le Pont-Tanquart[1] et autres.

A. D. 1416.

En lan de grace mil IIII^cc XVII. le XV^e jour[2] dAougst descendit derechiesf le roy dAngleterre a Touques, en lendroit du chastel du coste[3] deuers Honnefleu, et si print celuy chastel par composicion[4] Et par semblable maniere de la alla a Caen et mist le sege davant le XVI^e jour[5] dAougst, si fut le Roy loge deuers la mer,[6] et son frere le duc de Glocestre deuers Vancelles, et ses gens environ le chastel et la ville Adonc fist fort batre la ville de bombardes[7] quil auoit amenees, dequoy les murs furent fort domagies, tant que ilz eurent conseill de lassaillir, car dedans auoit peu de gens darmes pour la deffendre Et donc donnerent assaulx en plusieurs endroits tant quelle fut prinse par la partie[8] des Jacobins, mais le chastel se tint, non pas longuement car il fut tantost rendu par composicion Sur ceste prinse se rendirent les villes et chastel de Baieulx et les autres petiz chasteaux denuiron, comme Tylli, Creuly, Courselles,[9] et plusieurs autres Et pour aperceuoir la faueur que le duc de Bourgoigne auoit aux Angloys, en ce mesme temps que le roy dAngleterre descendit a Touques, le duc de Bourgoigne se mist sur les champs et sen vint a Paris sans faire guerre au roy dAngleterre, mais meulx sembloit[10] quil feust de sa partie.

A. D. 1417. August. Henry lands at Touques Castle,

and captures Caen,

Baieux, and other places.

The Duke of Burgundy is neutral.

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[1] *A*, 'Trenquart.'
[2] *A* and *B*, 'le XVI^e jour.'
[3] *A*, 'du lautre part du Seine.'
[4] *A* adds, 'et Auuilliers par semblables.'
[5] *B*, 'le XVII^e jour.'
[6] *B*, 'la porte Millet.'
[7] *B*, 'de grosses bombardes.'
[8] *B*, 'par la prairie.'
[9] *A*, 'Courseulles et Lingieme.' The four castles are omitted in *B*.
[10] *B*, 'ains sembloit mieux.'

A.D. 1417.

October.

Alençon and its fortresses submit to Henry.

The Duke of Brittany makes a truce with him.

The Duke of Gloucester besieges Rouen,

and the Lord Talbot invades the Côtentin.

Apres cestz choses se partit le roy dAngleterre de Caen et alla tout droit a Argenten le xxvii[e] jour dOctobre, mais il ny arresta guerre quar tantost la ville et le chastel luy furent renduz,[1] les villes et chasteaux du duche dAlencon par semblable maniere, cest assauoir Exmes, Sees, Essay, Chambroys et plusieurs autres[2] DArgenten se partit le roy dAngleterre et sen alla deuant dAlenczon et la mist le siege, et tint le sege enuiron ouyt jours, et le xxvii[e] jour[3] dOctobre luy furent la ville et le chastel renduz Adonc vint a luy de duc de Bretagne[4]. et print tresues de luy de nouel prochain ensuyuant jucques a ung an Si se rendirent aucunes fortresses comme le Bourg-le-Roy et plusieurs autres. Come le roy dAngleterre eut prins Alenczon et les fortresses denuiron[5] il sen retourna a Caen et a Bayeulx, ou il seiourna tant come ses gens couroint[6] par le pays Le duc de Glocestre alla courir[7] dauant Rouan le jour S[te] Katherine et les autres en autre part, et mist frontieres contre Faloise pour ce quil y auoit forte garnison dedans En celuy temps alla courir le sire de Talbot angloys au pays de Constantin[8] qui uncore estoit franczoys, auecques luy v. ou vi[cc9] homes, et lors passa les voyes[10] de St Clement et cheuaucha le pays ou il fist grant domage par feu et autrement Les nobles du pays[11] sassemblerent pour aller contre les dicts anglois Et comme ilz cuiderent rapasser les dictes voes si trouuerent la marée qui venoit es voes, par quoy les gens du pays les

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[1] *A* adds, 'par composicion.'

[2] No mention of these four castles in *B*.

[3] *B* omits the date; *A*, 'le xxii[e] jour.'

[4] *A* adds, 'tant comme il estoit.'

[5] *A*, 'les fortresses d'Alencon.'

[6] *A*, 'coururent.'

[7] *A*, 'fut devant.'

[8] *A*, 'Costentin.'

[9] *A*, 'ou vii[cc].'

[10] *A*, 'les Vez;' *B*, 'les Vées.'

[11] *A* adds, 'qui auoient auec eulx assemble le peuple pour eux courir sus.'

destrousserent⸝ mais le sire de Talbot a petite compagnie passa les voes vaillamment[1] et eschappa.

A.D. 1417.

Tantost apres retourna le roy dAngleterre dauant Falloize[2] et mist le sege entour le chastel et la ville⸝ et fut[3] le IIII[e] jour de Nouembre lan dessusdict[4] Si fist la asseoirs ses bombardes et tant que la ville et le chastel furent si batuz⸝ que par force et faulte de viures conuint que ceulx de la ville se rendeissent par composicion le xv[e] jour de Januier en lan dessusdict⸝ mais ceulx du chastel ne se rendirent pas sitost⸝ car il tint ung moys apres Et cependant fut celuy chastel si batu et mine que par force le conuint rendre⸝ parceque ceulx qui lauoint tenu firent resfaire toutes les mallesfaczons qui durant le siege y auoint este faictes.

Henry besieges Falaise,

Apres celle rendue retourna le roy dAngleterre a Caen⸝ et par une proclamacion quil fist faire pour les gens de Normandie qui estoint absens aus bailliages de Caen et de Faloise⸝ donna a ses gens[5] les terres de ceulx qui ne vindrent a celle proclamacion⸝ par especial donna a son frere le duc de Clarance a sa vie les vicomtez dAuge⸝ dOrbec et du Ponteaudemer auecques toutes les terres des absens des dictes vicontez⸝ et fut celuy don fait le XVI[e] jour de Mars[6] lan dessusdict.

A.D. 1418. (N. S.) returns to Caen,

Celuy an fist le roy dAngleterre la feste S[t] George en la ville de Caen en laquelle il fist plusieurs cheualiers de son hostel[7] En celuy temps[8] descendit le comte de LaMarche en Costentin en la

and holds a chapter of St. George.

[1] *A* adds, 'comme vray chevalier, car ses gens furent les ungs mors et prins tant quilz furent desconfiz.'

[2] *B*, 'Falaise.'

[3] *A*, 'et fut assis la dicte siege.'

[4] *A* and *B* add, 'Le duc de Glocestre fut loge au coste de Guibray; et de lautre partie estoit le roy dAngleterre au pres du chasteau.'

[5] *A* adds, 'qui lauoient seruy.'

[6] *A* and *B*, 'de Feurier.'

[7] This sentence *deest* in *B*.

[8] *A*, 'contemple.'

A. D. 1418. Hougue-S[t] Wast[1] a grant compagnie dAngloys, si firent moult de domage au clos de Constentin, et vindrent a S[t] Lo pour cuider prendre la ville, mais a celle foiz ny firent riens et allerent au roy la ou il estoit.

The Earl of March besieges St. Lo.

The Duke of Clarence repairs to Lisieux.

En lan de grace mil IIII[cc] XVIII. a lentrée de May se partit le duc de Clarance[2] pour aller au pais que le roy luy auoit donne, auecques luy le comte de Salbery[3] Si vint a Lisieux ou ses gens estoint de par luy, car la ville auoit este laissee des leste[4] dauant que les Francois en estoint partiz, et dicelle ville print pocession du pays que le roy luy auoit donne De Lisieux partit le comte de Salbery[5] et allerent dauant Harrecourt lequel le VI[e] jour de May[6] luy fut rendu Et la estoint les richesses au comte de Harrecourt qui estoint merueilleusement grandes de toutes choses appartenant a prince, lesquelles richesses le duc de Clarance eut par la composicion diceluy chastel De la vint dauant labbaye dAubec-Heloyn[7] qui estoit adonc la plus forte place diceluy pays, et fut dauant enuiron XX. jours, et par composicion luy fut rendue.

The Duke of Gloucester overruns the Côtentin.

En celuy temps que le duc de Clarance partit de Caen partit le duc de Glocestre, qui estoit frere du roy, pour aller en Costentin lequel le roy lui auoit donne, qui estoit uncore[8] a conquester, auecques luy les ire de Gray, le comte de La Marche, et plusieurs aultres grants[9] cappitaines Et luy furent rendues les villes de S[t] Lo, de Caranten, Constance, Auranches et Pontorchon, les chasteaux de Pont-

[1] *A*, 'La Hogue-St. Vaast.'

[2] *A* and *B*, 'de Caen ou le roy estoit.'

[3] *A*, 'Salisbury.'

[4] *B* omits 'des leste,' (*i. e.* 'été).

[5] *A* and *B*, 'et le duc de Clarence.'

[6] *A* and *B*, 1418.

[7] *A* and *B*, 'du BecHalouyn.'

[8] *A*, 'encores.'

[9] *A*, 'puissans.'

doue,[1] de Vallongnes, de St Saulueur, et de Briquelet, et toutes les autres menues fortresses excepte Cherbourg qui ly fut deffendu, et y mist le siege a grant compagniee dAngloys Et auecques luy estoit le comte de Suffolk qui soubz le duc de Glocestre gardoit une partie du siege.

A.D. 1418.

En ce meme temps quilz partirent de Caen apres pasques furent enuoies le comte de Salbery[2] et le sire de Talbot dauant la ville et chastel de Damptfront ou ilz mirent le sege, ou ilz furent longuement auant quilz leussent, ainsique vous orrez de luy et dautres et comme ilz assemblerent.

Anczois que plus auant vous parle des Anglois vous parleroy du gouuernement des villes qui nestoint point conquestees, quar pour la faueur du duc de Bourgoigne et la affection quilz auoint en luy se vouloint aller meptre[3] en son obeissance et si nen sauoit rien[4] En celuy temps au moys dAurill se rendirent en son obeissance les villes de Pontoise, de Mante, et de Vernon, de Euureulx, de Louiers es mains des signeurs de Chastelus[5], de Lisle Adam, de missire Loys de Braz,[6] et de Guillaume Decraues qui les recuillirent en celle obeissance, et fasoint guerre aux autres fortresses qui ligement tenoint de la partie du roy de France en esperance du duc dOrleans.[7]

Pontoise and other towns submit to the Duke of Burgundy.

Tantost apres cestz choses la ville de Rouan voulut faire comme les autres villes, si manderent segretement missire Guy Le Bouteiller, qui estoit a Diepe pour le duc de Bourgoigne, et le mirent dedans

Their example is followed by Rouen.

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[1] *A*, 'Pont-Doe.'

[2] *A* and *B*, 'de Waruic,' omitng 'Salbery.'

[3] *A*, 'se voullurent ilz meptre.'

[4] *A*, 'rens;' the sentence *deest* in *B*.

[5] *A*, 'des chasteulx de.'

[6] *A* and *B*, 'de Bar.'

[7] *A* and *B*, 'en especial le duc d'Orleans.'

A. D. 1418. O. S.)

la ville avec sa compagnie par la porte S^t^ Hillayre[1] et fut le XII^e^ jour de Janvier lan mil IIII^cc^XVIII, lesqueulz auec leurs alliez firent plusieurs maulx de piller et rober en la ville et dehors la ville Dauant le chastel midrent ilz le sege et bouterent le feu en la basse court, et par v. jours quilz furent dauant batirent le chastel de canons merueilleusement, tant que par leur puissance et parceque dedans nauoit nulz viures leur fut rendu le chastel par Jehan de Harrecourt qui en estoit cappitaine, et eut celle composicion que luy et ses gens eurent leurs biens[2] saufs, et semblablement labbaye de S^t^ Katherine ou estoit missire Robert de Bracquemont qui estoit admiral de France.

The Parisians invite the Burgundians.

En celuy temps le comte dArmignac qui estoit a Paris cuida segretement faire oster les chaynes de nuyt des rues de Paris pour mettre en subiection la ville, de quoy ceulx de la ville ne furent pas contens, par quoy adonc ilz mirent merueilleux remede Pour celle cause aucuns[3] appointerent a missire Loys de Bar lors baillisf dAussois qui etoit pour lors dedans la ville de Mante, et au sire de Chastellus qui estoit dedans la ville de Vernon, et a Guillaume de Craues lors baillisf dEureux, et au sire de Lisle Adam pour entrer dedans Paris Si conuindrent tellement que ceux de Paris se mirent en celle obeissance sinon ceulx qui tenoint le party du duc dOrleans Et furent les dicts bourgoignons auecques touz leurs gens mis dedans Paris tant que la plus grant partie se mist auec eulx Si vindrent a S^t^ Poul ou le roy estoit et de sa personne prindrent pocession A celle heure estoit le dauphin en son lit en lostel du petit Muse,[4] qui riens ne sauoit de

[1] *A*, 'St. Ylaire.'

[2] *A*, 'leurs corps et leurs biens.'

[3] *A*, 'aucuns de la ville.'

[4] *A* and B, 'du petit musse,' *i. e.* retreat.

celle besongne, quant missire Tanguy Duchastel vint en sa chambre et luy dist ces nouelles, et donc lambrassa ainsi quil estoit et lemporta dedans la bastille St Anthoine pour estre a sauuette hors de leurs mains.

A.D. 1419.

Adonc sassemblerent touz ceulx de la partie au duc dOrleans comme ilz peurent eschapper de la ville et par dehors la ville se retrahirent dedans la bastille, et donc soubdainement entrerent en la ville touz a cheual contre les bourgoignons contre val la rue Ste Katherine tant quilz allerent jucques a la porte de la Croez-Baudet[1] pour cuider recouurer la ville, mes autrement fut, quar les bourgoignons les firent reculler Adoncques y eut grant desconfiture pourceque ilz leur copperent chemin et allerent au dauant deulx tellement que ilz ne se peurent retraire, mais adonc y ot tant de mors que de prins de VII. a VIIIcc homes Apres ce fut le daulphin[2] secretement mene a Melun.

Defeat of the Armagnacs.

The Dauphin retires to Melun.

Quant les bourgoignons furent maistres de Paris et que la ville fut de leur alliance furent prins touz ceulx que lon peut tenir[3] de la partie dOrleans, par especial le comte de Armignac connestable de France, missire Henry deMarle qui estoit chancelier, leuesque de Lisieux qui estoint du conseill, leuesque de Eureux, Remonnet Delaguerre,[4] et plusieurs autres tenans celle partie en la ville et dehors, qui furent mis es prinsons de chastelet et du pallays Plusieurs autres furent tuez dedans la ville, les ungs pour auoir leurs biens, les autres par hastisfs courages Enuiron troys sepmaines apres que lon cuida que les choses se deussent appaisier se renouuella celle harelle de gens de Paris contre les Armignacs

Massacre of the Armagnacs.

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[1] *A*, 'a la croix de la Porte Baudes.'

[2] 'le daulphin' *deest* in *A*.

[3] *B*, 'peut trouuer.'

[4] *B*, 'Remonnet evesque d'Eureux.'

A.D. 1419. qui fust le plus populaire,[1] car iceulx allerent par toutes les prinsons et tuerent touz ceulx quilz y trouuerent, mesmement le comte dArmignac et le chancelier de France, auec eulx Remonnet Delaguerre, lesquuelx estoint en la tour du pallays, et diceulx furent les corps auallez[2] aual les degrez tous miz jucques au bas du monsteur[3] du roy Et par derision firent dun coutel une bande de cuir du corps du conestable en demonstrant quil etoit Armignac Item ainsi comme ilz firent au pallays firent au chastel et aux aultres prinsons, esquelles fut tue leuesque de Lisieux at autres plusieurs tant que nul prinsonnier ny demoura, les ungs firent saillir de hault en la rue et illecques les tuoint, et plusieurs en tuoint en my les rues et aux hostieulx ainsi quilz les trouuoint Par troys jours dura celle harelle, les ungs pour embler[4] les autres pour occire Tout au long du jour et de la nuyt furent les corps du compte dArmignac, du chancelier et de Ramonnet a terre en la boe[5] en la court du pallays Et apres la harelle furent les corps des troys et des autres mors jettez aux champs et furent couuers, non pas par pitie mais par la puantise[6] deulx.

The Duke of Burgundy seizes the government.

Tantost apres vint a Paris le duc de Bourgoigne, derechiesf print le gouuernement Si fist donner au roy ses offices a ses gens tout a son plaisir, tant que lautre partie ny eut plus que veoirs ne pouoir nul Ainsi fut le pais en lobeissance du duc de Bourgoigne tout au long de Seyne, sinon Gisors, la Roche-Guyon[7] et le Pont de lArche jucques a la ville de Harrefleu, car Caudebec fist comme Rouan.

Retourner nous conuient au fait des Anglois qui

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[1] *A*, 'les plus des gens poppullaires.'
[2] *A*, 'trainez;' *B*, 'attrainez.'
[3] *A*, 'montour.'
[4] *A* and *B*, 'pour piller.'
[5] *A* and *B*, 'la boue.'
[6] *A*, 'pullentise.'
[7] *A* adds, 'Gaillart.'

A.D. 1418.

pour lors estoint au pays de Normandie⸝ et reprendre comme apres pasques[1] lan mil IIII^{cc}XVIII. le roy dAngleterre auoit enuoie ses gens en plusieurs seges⸝ et comme il se partit de Caen la premiere sepmaine de May et fit amener ses habillements Si alla a Lysieux et au Bec-Hellouyn et y trouua son frere le duc de Clarence⸝ et alors allerent deuant la ville de Louuiers⸝ et y fut mis le siege la premier jour de May⸝[2] et luy fut rendue le XVIII^{e} jour du dict moys Apres que celle ville fut rendue alla le roy dauant le Pont de lArche et assegea la ville du coste deuers la forest le XVII^{e} jour de Juign⸝ et fut logie en labbaye de Bonport Celuy sege dura XV. jours sans ce que la ville feust gueres domagiee⸝ et leur fut rendu par composition⸝ pour ce que les Anglois passerent la riuiere de Sayne contre les Francois en deux lieux⸝ cest assauoir au lieu nomme les Dans et au droit de labbaye de Bonport⸝ tant quilz firent fuir les Francois⸝ par especial le sire de Chastellus qui sur le poït du duc de Bourgoigne estoit alors mareschal de France[3] Et quant les Anglois furent passez si se mirent endroit[4] le chastel⸝ par quoy fut faicte composicion quilz rendroint le chastel et la ville silz nestoint secouruz dedans VIII. jours⸝ lesqueulx ne le furent point⸝ et pour ce se rendirent le XVI^{e} jour de Juillet Puix se partit le roy dAngleterre de la en celle saeson dauant la Magdelaine et vint dauant la cite de Rouen ou il mist le sege dune part et dautre de la riuiere de Seyne Grant sege y eut et fort⸝ et fut le roy dAngleterre loge en lostel des Chartreux⸝ et le duc de Clarance qui fasoit lauant garde estoit loge a S^{t} Geruais. A lendroit du chastel le comte Dorset qui lors estoit duc dEx-

May. Louviers surrenders to Henry.

Pont-de-l'Arche submits.

Henry besieges Rouen.

[1] This remark *deest* in *B*.

[2] From 'et fit amener ses habillements' to 'jour de May,' *deest* in the MS. of Chastelain.

[3] *B* omits the part of the sentence commencing at 'par especial.'

[4] *B*, 'entour;' *A*, 'environ.'

A.D. 1418.

Siege of Rouen.

cestre estoit logie deuant la porte Sainte Katherine[1] Le comte de Wareuik estoit loge dauant la porte S[t] Yllaire[2] Le sire de Cornouaille estoit loge dauant la porte Caulchoise Le comte de Salberi estoit loge en la montaigne dauant la porte Martainuille audessous de S[te] Katherine qui adonc estoit forte place De lautre part de la riuiere de Seyne estoint logiez⸝ dauant le bout du pont⸝ le comte de Homptinton[3] et le sire de Huiz[4] a grant compagnie darchiers et de gens darmes.

Moult longuement dura celuy sege et fut la ville durement batue et dehors et dedans⸝ car trop y auoit de grosses bombardes qui nuyt et jour jettoint Mais les gens de la ville auoint toujours esperance que le duc de Bourgoigne les secourust ce de quoy il leur fasoit semblant⸝ de ce nauint riens[5] Pour celuy temps estoit le roy mallade tant que lors nauoit congnoessence ne de luy ne de son royaume⸝ et le duc de Bourgoigne qui gouuernoit le roy[6] ny pouoit en rien sinon de parolles⸝ quar le fait ne se monstroit point[7] combien que souuent en estoit requis des gens de Rouan⸝[8] mais tout ce fait fut par dissimulacion pour leur complere.

The Dauphin besieges Tours.

En ce temps le dauphin de Vienne filz du roy de France tenoit sege dauant Tours que tenoit lors le duc de Bourgoigne⸝ et tint troys moys sege dauant[9] et apres fut rendue par composicion et remise en la main du dauphin.[10]

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[1] *A* adds, 'deuant labbaye de St. Katherine qui adonc estoit forte.'

[2] *B*, 'St. Hilaire.'

[3] *B*, 'Hontyngton.'

[4] *A*, 'Kim;' *B*, 'de Hun,' an error for 'Kyme.'

[5] This sentence *deest* in *B*.

[6] *A*, 'son fait;' *B*, 'le royaume.'

[7] *A*, 'en rien.'

[8] *A* adds, 'qui estoient deuers luy.'

[9] *A* reads, 'auant quilz se rendissent.'

[10] From 'mais tout ce fait' to 'dauphin' *deest* in *B*.

A. D. 1418.

Petit dura labbaye de S[te] Katherine sur Rouan, car elle fut de nuyt assailye et non pas prinse, et tantost apres fut rendue par composicion pour les grandes destrucions qui furent faictes es forsbourgs et enuiron la ville, tant deglises que de maisons Et conuenoit logier les Anglois plus a paine,[1] car tout Saint Seuer et Richebourg[2] et S[t] Geruais et Martainuille et les clos[3] aux gallees furent ars et destruiz, mesmes les gallees qui flotoint en layue de Sayne furent arses par les gens de Rouen Furent toutes cestz choses faictes auant que le sege venist dauant eulx.

St. Katharine's surrenders.

Item pour enforcer le sege et que aucuns ne peussent monter ne deualler sur la riuiere de Sayne au confort de la ville, fist le roy dAngleterre faire ung pont audessus de Rouen sur la riuiere[4] de Seyne, et dauant cest pont de bouays fist meptre en coste devers la ville une chaine de fer au trauers la riuiere portee sur queues,[5] affin que aucun nauire ne peust amont monter.

Item entour la ville firent les Angloys plusieurs gibetz leuer pour espouuanter celx dedans et de ffait y firent pendre plusieurs personnes, par quoy ceulx de la ville firent auxi pendre ung Anglois a ung gibet quilz firent leuer sur les fosses hors de la ville.

Celuy sege durant enuoiea le pape en France le cardinal des Ursins pour essaier a meptre paix entre les deux roys de France et dAngleterre Si vint au dict sege du roy dAngleterre, auecques luy des ambassadeurs du roy de France, cest assauoir missire Amauri Demac,[6] missire Bretran[7] de Roerge et autres plusieurs tant clers comme laiz pour traicter

Arrival of the Cardinal des Ursins.

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[1] *A*, 'a peine;' *B*, 'à bien grande peine.'
[2] *A*, 'Richebourg *deest*.'
[3] *B*, 'le glos.'
[4] *A*, 'a trauers de la riuiere.'
[5] *B*, 'portee de chesnes.'
[6] *A*, 'Almaury de Furat.'
[7] *A* and *B*, 'Bertran.'

A.D. 1418. de paix, mais il sen retournerent sans paix ne acord faire Et dura celuy siege VI. moys entiers, tant que les viures furent faillies a ceulx de la ville nonobstant que les chars des cheuaux feussent mangees, voire des chiens et des ras et autres vermines, et y estoit la famine et la necessite si grande que en celle cite moururent plus de xxx^{m} personnes auant quilz voulsissent rendre icelle ville, combien que en fut conuint que ilz se rendissent par rage de fain qui les contraignoit et parcequilz norent point de secours Durant le sege vint grand nauire dAngleterre qui amont la riuiere de Seyne vint jucques a Roen pour auitailler le sege des Anglois, et comprint celuy nauire la riuiere tellement que des parties daual ny pouait riens venir, lequel nauire passa par dauant Cauldebec par composicion par ung parlement qui auoit este fait dauant celle ville, pour la cause le nauire de Roen qui deuoit garder le passage sen estoit retourne.

Surrender of Domfront, 22d Sept.

Celuy sege durant fut rendu Damfront au comte de Waruik et au sire de Talbot qui auoint tenu le sege des le moys dAurill, et leur fut rendu le XXII^{e} jour de Septembre lan mil IIII^{cc}XVIII. Et donc sen allerent en lost du roy qui seoit dauant Rouen, et furent lors le sire de Talbot[1] et le comte de Waruyk dauant Cauldebec, et la mirent le sege, et y furent seix jours,[2] et ce temps pendant firent composicion auec ceulx de la ville quilz leuerent le sege et ceulx de la ville seroint contre[3] Rouen, et de ce prindrent hostages lesquelx ilz menerent au sege dauant Rouen et les midrent dedans Saincte Katherine.[4]

and of Cherbourg.

Ceulx qui tenoint Chierbourg le rendirent la der-

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[1] 'Le sire de Talbot' *deest* in *A*.
[2] *B*, 'six mois.'
[3] *A*, 'comme Rouen.'
[4] From 'lesquelx' to the end *deest* in *B*.

roine sepmaine de Nouembre lan dessus dict au duc de Glocestre, et lauoint tenu dempuix quilz y auoint premierement mis le siege Et apres celle rendue sen alla le dict duc de Glocestre, le comte de La Marche, le comte de Suffolc et plusieurs autres qui auoint le siege tenu[1] sen allerent dauant Rouen au sege du Roy, et fut loge le duc de Glocestre a tout III^{m} hommes dauant la porte S^{t} Hillaire.[2]

A.D. 1418. November.

En cestuy temps estoit la ville de Rouen en tel necessite comme ouy auez tant que touz estoint au mourir, par quoy ceulx de la ville demanderent traicte aux Angloys, et fut la premiere fois a la porte du pont et dempuix[3] au roy aux Chartreux, par quoy le roi dAngleterre fist tendre deux paueillons a la porte S^{t} Hillaire ou les Angloys et ceulx de la ville assemblerent, auquel lieu ilz firent composicion par ainsi, que touz ceulx qui estoint logez dedans la ville poiroint au roy III^{cc} mil escus, chacun escu vallant xxv. solz de bonne monnoye,[4] de quoy touz ceulx qui estoint dedans furent moult greuez Par celuy accord fut la ville rendue au roy dAngleterre, et y entra en grant sollempnite et procession par la porte Beauuoisine, et alla a la grant eglise cathedrale et de la au chastel le XIX^{e} jour du dict moys de Janvier lan de grace mil IIII^{cc}XVIII. Par celle rendue de Rouen furent rendues toutes les fortresses du pays de Caulx en son obeyssance, jucques au nombre de xx. fortresses tant dun coste que dautre de la riuiere de Seyne, par composicion.

Jan. 1418. (O.S.) Rouen capitulates.

Et vint le duc de Bretaigne lequel ralonga[5] ses tresues jucques a ung an ensuyuant En celuy an

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[1] *A* adds, 'deuant Chierebourc.'

[2] From 'et fut loge' *deest* in *B*.

[3] *B*, 'depuis.'

[4] *A* adds, 'tournoys;' *B*, 'chacun escu vaillant trente cinq sols tournois.'

[5] *A*, 'prolongea.'

A. D. 1418. (O. S.)

fut prins le charroy de la royne de France par les Angloys entre Beaumont-sur-Ayse et Beauuoys⸝ ou estoint de moult grandes richesses⸝ comme robes⸝ liures⸝ et autres joieaulx et habillemens.[1]

The Earl of Salisbury besieges Honfleur.

En ce temps alla le comte de Salbery meptre le sege dauant Hannefleu que estoit uncores en la main des Franczois⸝ le IIII^e jour de Feburier lan mil IIII^cc XVIII⸝ et dura celuy siege jucques au XII^e jour de Mars Tantost apres la rendue de Rouan le roy dAngleterre receut les homages au chastel de Rouen des nobles et autres de la duchie de Normendie Il fist adonc nouuelles ordonnances et mua les mesures de boire tout a lescalon des mesures dArques⸝ et toutes aulnes a celles de Paris Adonc alla le duc de Clarence a grant foeson de gens a Vernon⸝ et dillec a Mante⸝ lesquelles se rendirent tantost par composicion⸝ et par la maniere de ces deux villes se rendirent les autres menues fortresses denuiron⸝ comme Rougny⸝ Blaru et autres Jucques a la chandeleur fut le roy a Rouen⸝ par ce quil fist publier une proclamacion a touz ceulx qui voudroint venir en son obeissance dedans celuy jour auroints leurs terres et leurs pocessions⸝[2] auquel jour dedans la chandeleur il tint feste plainiere et porta robe de duc comme duc de Normandie.

Henry at Rouen.

He repairs to Evreux.

Celle feste passee partit le roy dAngleterre de Rouen de Vendredi III^e[3] jour de Feurier et alla a Louuiers et de la a Eureux qui ja estoit rendu par le moien du duc dExcestre⸝ auquel lieu sejourna une piece pour la cause quil auoit promis au daulphin de Vienne filz du roy de France de conuenir en ung lieu ensemble nomme entre eulx deux⸝ et pour ce que le daulphin se fist excuser par larche-

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[1] From 'ou estoient' *deest* in *B*.

[2] *A* adds, 'non donnees.'

[3] *B*, 'IV^e.'

uesque de Rains[1] il alla a Vernon ou il seiourna tant que feust passe le jour des Reuoisons,[2] et landemain se partit et alla a Mante Des le temps quil partit de Euureux enuoyea il le comte de Waruik meptre le sege a la Roche-Guyon, lequel sege dura celuy jour jucques au VI^e jour dAurill que le chastel fut rendu et donne a messire Guy Le Bouteiller et autres terres en la duchie de Normendie apres la proclamacion faicte a Rouen.

A. D. 1418.

En celuy an fist le roy dAngleterre renforcer le pont de Roen contre la ville et commencer un pallays sur Seyne en la tour Maucifrote pres les Jacobins, et y fist besongner tant comme il vesquit.

En celuy an mil IIII^cc XVIII[3] alla le duc dExcestre meptre le sege dauant Chasteau-Gaillart, la Vendredi apres la feste notre Dame en Mars, et dura celuy sege jucques au moys de Septembre que il fut rendu par composition En celuy mesme temps et jour le duc de Glocestre mist sege dauant Yury et dura le sege XL jours, et fut la ville prinse dassault et le chastel par traicte Apres celle rendue alla le duc de Glocestre courir au pais de Chartres, auecques luy grant compagnee dAngloys.

Château Gaillard besieged.

A. D. 1419.

Ivry captured.

Tandis[4] que le roy seiournoit a Mante se fist adonc une ambassade entre luy et le duc de Bourgoigne, pour la cause que le dauphin ne voulut tenir sa promesse, et par lacort des deux et de la royne de France se commencza une conuencion Si assemblerent pres de Meulenc sur la riuiere de Seyne, et furent faictes unes lices tant dun coste que dautre, et oultre les lices furent leurs tentes Celles des Angloys en la parte deuers Mante et celle des

July, The convention at Meulan.

[1] *B*, 'Reims.'

[2] *B*, 'Ronuoysons.'

[3] *A*, 'XIX.'

[4] The whole of this paragraph *deest* in *B*.

A.D. 1419. July.

Francois en la partie deuers Meuluc[1] De lautre part du ruissel du Viuier entre les lices auoit une tente ou ilz assemblerent en parlement Ou moys de Juillet par plusieurs journees assemblerent en celuy lieu, et auoint chacun foeson de gens darmes tant dun coste comme dautre qui la venoit, les Francois de Ponthoise et les Anglois de Mante Auecques la royne estoit madame Katherine fille du roy de France, le duc de Bourgoigne, le comte de S^t Pol et plusieurs autres signeurs et dames Et de la partie du roy dAngleterre estoint ses deux freres, le duc de Clarance, et le duc dExcestre son oncle, et le duc de Glocestre, larcheuesque de Cantheurbie et plusieurs autres barons et prelatz, lesquelx parlementerent de faire paix par le moien du mariage du roy dAngleterre et de Madame Katherine de France, tant que par VIII fois ilz furent assemblez et ne peurent estre a acord, par quoy la chose demoura, et sen allerent la royne et le duc de Bourgoigne a Paris et le roy dAngleterre a Mante.

Pontoise captured.

Bientost apres faillirent les tresues par quoy les gens au captal de Beuff,[2] qui auoit este fait comte de Longueuille a la feste de la Natiuite dauant passee a Mante, se assemblerent segretement ampres Ponthoise, auec eulx les gens au sire de Duras et ceulx au sire de lEspare, Gascons, et par eschielle prindrent par nuyt la force des murs de la ville de Pontoise, tant que ilz les tindrent Le duc de Clarence (vint) hastiuement pour leur ayder, si fut lors prinse, et apres le chastel, tant que ceulx de la ville sen fuirent a Paris et aux Anglois laisserent la place Et de la alla le duc de Clarance a grant puissance courir dauant Paris En celuy temps le jour de la my Aougst tenoit sege messire Philippe

[1] *A*, 'Meulenc.' [2] *B*, 'Captau du Bu.'

de Hec[1] dauant St Martin-de-Gaillart[2] En celuy propre jour luy vindrent pour courre sus plusieurs des gens au duc dOrleans⸝ comme missire Loys de Blacquemont[3] et autres plusieurs tant que plusieurs Anglois y demeurerent Et leuerent iceluy sege par force⸝ et missire Philippe Hec se recuillit en une eglise ou il se saulua⸝ et y moururent bien viicc homes tant Anglois comme gens.[4]

A. D. 1419.

Murder of the Duke of Burgundy.

Tantost apres cestz choses⸝ pendant le temps que le roy dAngleterre estoit a Mante⸝ auint que le daulphin de Vienne et le duc de Bourgoigne auoint prins jour de conuenir ensemble pour le bien de la paix a Monstereau-fault[5]-Yonne⸝ ou le daulphin estoit Si aduint que le xiie jour dAougst le duc de Bourgoigne vint a Monstereau deuers le dauphin comme promis luy auoit Adonc le trouua sur le pont si comme par eulx estoit ordonne⸝ et que a sa seurte estoit venu Quant le duc de Bourgoigne encontra le dauphin sur iceluy pont il estoit descendu a pie⸝ si se agenouilla humblement ainsi comme dauant son signeur il deuoit faire Entre leurs paroles le vicomte de Nerbonne et Tanguy du Chastel prindrent paroles arrogantes pour auoir cause de le meptre a mort Et il respondit ainsi que le prince se deuoit faire a telz gens en gardant son honneur⸝ par quoy sans plus attendre le mirent a mort dauant le daulphin comme ilz auoint eu en voulente⸝ puix prindrent de ses gens desqueulx quilz voulurent⸝ mais apres furent deliurez[6] et le corps du duc fut mis en terre⸝ et depuix fut mis

[1] *A* and *B*, 'de Liec.'

[2] *A* and *B* add, 'en la comté d'Eu.'

[3] *B*, 'Braquemont.'

[4] *A* and *B*, 'gens du pays.'

[5] Now called Montereau-sur-Yonne; but by Alain Chartier Monstereau au flout d'Yonne—(L'Histoire des Troubles de France sous Charles VI. et VII. Nevers, 1594.)

[6] From 'puix prindrent' to 'deliurez' *deest* in *B*.

A. D. 1419. hors de terre et apporte a Digon⸗ ou il fut enterré empres son pere le duc Philippe⸗ en leglise des Chartreux quil auoit fondee en son viuant.

Philip, Duke of Burgundy, contracts an alliance with Henry.

Pour celle mort fut le comte de Charroloys filz du duc de Bourgoigne moult courroce pour lamour de son pere⸗ par quoy il desira auoir aliance[1] contre le daulphin pour essaier dauoir vengence de la mort de son pere Si enuoiea a Mante ses ambassadeurs deuers le roy dAngleterre⸗ cest assauoir⸗ leuesque dArras⸗ missire Andrieu de la Roche et autres plusieurs⸗ lesqueulx conuindrent auecques les Angloys⸗ tant que le comte de Charroloys⸗ lors duc de Bourgoigne⸗ fust en termes de sallier auecques le roy dAngleterre contre le dauphin lequel auoit fait tuer son pere⸗[2] ou au moins tue en sa presence sur son saufconduit et asseurement Et donc pour parfaire les traitez⸗ qui adonc entreulx estoint commencez⸗ alonguerent leurs tresues qui longuement durerent Si furent comprins en celles tresues les gens de Paris⸗ qui de jour en jour pourchaczoint traicte auec les Anglois par le moien du duc de Bourgoigne.[3]

November, Meulan and Poissy captured.

Dedans icelx tresues enuoiea le roy dAngleterre meptre le siege dauant Meluc[4] sur Seyne⸗ cest assauoir le comte de Salbery et plusieurs autres⸗ et dura celuy sege jucques au vı^e^ jour de Nouembre quil fut rendu au roy dAngleterre par traictie fait a luy en sa personne Celuy sege fine le roy de Angleterre enuoiea le duc de Glocestre meptre le siege deuant le pont de Poissy⸗ lequel ne dura que sept iours⸗ et puis fut rendu au dit duc par composicion A celuy sege alla le roy de Angleterre pour le veoir et auxi pour veoir son dit frere le duc de Glocestre

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[1] *B*, 'alliance aux Anglois.'

[2] From 'tant que' to 'pere' *deest* in *B*.

[3] This last sentence *deest* in B.

[4] *A* and *B*, 'Meullenc.'

Et donc alla il a la prieure de Poissi[1] dont estoit lors prieuresse madame Marie de France fille du roy de France Si fut lors receu en celle prieure come roy de France, par quoy il y fist de beaux dons tant de draps dor come dor monnoye jucques a v^cc^ nobles Apres la prinse de Poissy alla le duc de Glocestre meptre le sege dauant Saint Germain-en-Laire,[2] qui ly fut rendu au bout de troys jours, en laquelle rendue fut conquise la tour de Mont-Joye Et ceulx de Paris se virent si approchez des Anglois et le duc de Bourgoigne leur estoit failli, quar il estoit mort, si enuoierent leurs ambassadeurs au roy dAngleterre pour faire traicte final auec luy et mettre la ville en son obeissance.[3]

A.D. 1419.

Henry visits the Prioress of Poissy.

En celuy an fist le roy dAngleterre sa Toussains a Mante[4] et tantost apres se partit de la, si alla mettre le sege dauant la ville et chastel de Guisors, et en allant luy fut rendu Vaucouleur[5] qui au dauant luy auoit fait grant guerre, et ceulx qui le gardoint sen allerent de nuyt Dauant Guisors fut le Roy long temps, et estoit loge son corps a Trie,[6] et ses gens enuiron le chastel et la ville[7] En celuy sege vindrent a luy dereschiesf les ambassadeurs de Paris et du duc de Bourgoigne, car tout ce temps auoit tresues entreulx Si dura tant la chose que celuy chastel et ville furent renduz par composicion celuy an le XVIII^e^ jour de Decembre En celuy an et temps fut rendu le chasteau de Gaillart au duc dExcestre par composicion,[8] et y auoit sege dempuix le moys de Mars.

Henry at Mantes,

at Gisors,

Vaucon-villiers,

and at Trie.

Château-Gaillard surrenders.

En celle rendue de Gisors se rendirent touz les

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1 *A*, 'Passy.'

2 *B*, 'en Laye.'

3 *A* adds, 'sans auouer autres seigneurs auec luy.'

4 From 'En celuy' *deest* in *B*.

5 *A* and *B*, 'Vauconuiller.'

6 *A*, 'Triel.'

7 From 'et ceulx' *deest* in *B*.

8 From 'celuy an le' *deest* in *B*.

A.D. 1419.

The Velguesin (or Vexin) surrenders.

chasteaux dentour Gisors de Vulguessin,[1] le Normand, et le Francois, come Gournay, Chaumont, Nauffle, Dangu et les autres menues fortresses, tant quil eut conquis tout le duche de Normandie si non le Mont-Saint-Michiel et le chastel dAubmalle, qui apres fut rendu au comte de Waruyk a qui il fut donne Si furent plusieurs terres en la duchie de de Normandie et de plus grandes par especial aux signeurs dAngleterre qui lauoint suiui, et les autres menues terres a ses gens et a ceulx qui le fauorisoint en pays conquerant En celuy temps allerent Angloys et Bourgoignons cheuauchier dauant la ville de Compiengne ou estoint les gens au duc dOrleans, de quoy il auint que ilz saillirent sur eulx tant que les Bourgoignons senfuirent, par quoy il y eut des Angloys prins et mors et de ceulx qui grepirent[2] la place, de quoy le roy ne fut pas bien content.

Henry keeps his Christmas at Rouen.

De Gysors se partit le roy dAngleterre et alla a Roan pour faire son Nouel en lan dessus-dict, ou il fist grant feste, et en iceluy jour fist troys de ses parens cheualiers, cest assauoir le comte de Sommerset et ses deux freres Puix fut a Roen touz les jours de Nouel et tout liuer jucques apres Pasques, et de jour en jour besongnoit en son conseill aux ambassadeurs de la ville de Paris et du duc de Bourgoigne, qui estoint souuent deuers luy pour parfaire les appointements qui par eulx estoint commencez, lesqueulx en la parfin furent accordez en telle maniere que le roy dAngleterre auroit par mariage madamme Katherine, fille du roy de France, par telle condicion qui il auroit par adopcion le royaume de France, la propriete diceluy pour luy et ses heirs et sa lignee, et renonceroit iceluy duc de Bourgoigne

Is betrothed to the Princess Katherine.

[1] *A*, 'du Veuguessin;' *B*, 'et le Veulquessin.' (Pagus Velcassinus.)

[2] *B*, 'guerpirent.'

A.D. 1420.

a la succession diceluy royaume, se a luy venoit par droit heritage, et que le roy de France qui touziours estoit en aduersite de sa malladie consentiroit icelles choses, mais il auroit toute sa vie le nom de roy de France, et la royne sa femme pareillement, et quil auroit son estat pareillement et la royne sa femme auxi, mais le roy dAngleterre auroit tout le nom deulx et de tout le royaume des iceluy temps presens, et apres sa mort il seroit roy de France, luy et touz ceulx qui de son sang ystroint sans ce que jamais peust retourner le royaume en la ligne de France par nulle maniere, mais durreroit touziours celle adopcion, et le temps pendant que le roy de France seroit en vie le roy dAngleterre ne se feroit point nommer roy de France, mes heir seullement de France, si qui le daulphin et ceulx de sa droitte ligne en seroint perpetuellement et hereditablement deboutez Par quoy il auint que ceulx de Paris et ceulx du party firent banir a son de trompe le daulphin de Vienne publiquement par toute la ville, disant quil nestoit point filz du roy de France et que a luy nappartient point le royaulme.

The Duke of Burgundy does homage to Henry.

Semblablement le duc de Bourgoigne auoueroit a signeur le roy dAngleterre des terres quil tenoit au royaume de France en luy baillant la pocession de la ville de Paris, du boais de Vincennes, de la bastille Saint-Anthoene-de-Crael, des pays de Champagne, de Brie, et de Picardie, auec les villes de Sulliz[1] et de Corbeuill qui estoint en ses main, et meptroit le roy dAngleterre cappitaines en la bastille et au boays de Vincennes ceux que il luy plairoit, mais partout ailleurs en touz lieux et en toutes places quil luy bailleroit, auroit cappitaines et officiers au duc de Bourgoigne, Francois ou autres ainsi quil luy plairoit, dedans Paris et dehors Par ces moiens

[1] *A* and *B*, 'Senlis.'

A. D. 1420. fut allie au roy et le roy a luy, pour auoir vengence du daulphin de Vienne pour la mort de son pere.

St. Riquier besieged.

En celuy temps les gens du duc dOrleans tenoint la ville de Saint Ricquier en Poythieu[1] qui estoit es methes[2] du duc de Bourgoigne, pour laquelle cause il y mist le siege auec aucuns Anglois que lon luy auoit baillez, pour quoy il auint que missire Jacques de Harrecourt, qui pour lors estoit cappitaine du Crotay, assembla toutes les garnisons de Compiengne et du party de Valloys,[3] qui tenoint le parti du duc dOrleans, pour leuer iceluy siege Et quant le duc de Bourgoigne les sentit approcher, il sesleua et alla encontre eulx juc oultre la riuiere de Seine,[4] tant quilz sentre rencontrerent en ung village nomme Socquainuille,[5] et y fut fait cheualier le duc de Bourgoigne qui lors eut du pire, et plusieurs de ses gens mors Quant missire Jehan de Lusambourg y arriua qui les fist recuillir tant quilz sen allerent, et en y eut moult de mors et de prins et dun coste et dautre Si fut ainsi celuy siege leue sans plus rassembler celle saeson.

Henry at Troyes.

Apres celuy traicte et que le roy Anglois eut fait sa pasque a Roan, il partit et alla a Ponthoise, et de Pontoise a Troyes, et en Champaigne, sans entrer a Paris pour parfaire lappointement et les choses qui estoint promises Si trouua le roy de France et la royne, auecques elle dame Katherine de France leur fille, en leur compagnie le duc de Bourgoigne, et la ratiffierent et confirmerent toutes les choses qui scelon les tresues auoint est par leurs gens accorder, scelon lappointement fait entre les deux

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[1] *A*, 'Pontieu.'
[2] *A* and *B*, 'mettes.'
[3] *A*, 'et du pais de Vallois;' *B*, 'et de Valois.'
[4] *A* and *B*, 'de Somme.'
[5] *A*, 'Saigneuille;' *B*, 'Sainneuille.'

roys et le duc de Bourgoigne, en tel estat come chacun sait et scelon lacord de ceulx de Paris.[1]

A. D. 1420.

En lan mil IIII^cc^xx le roy Henri dAngleterre espousa audict lieu de Troyes madamme Katherine de France, par le traictie qui auoit este fait auecques luy par le duc de Bourgoigne et de ceulx de Paris, et les espousa leuesque de Troyes en la grant eglise de France,[2] present la royne de France sa mere, et le duc de Bourgoigne, et le duc de Clarance et plusieurs des autres signeurs dAngleterre Et la fut celebre iceluy mariage et toutes les promesses consomees quilz auoint par entreulx faictes, nonobstant lestat en quoy estoit le roy de France, tel comme Dieu lui auoit ordonne, dont cestoit grand pitie, que meulx ne pouvoit estre au bien du royaume et de sa personne.[3]

His marriage.

Apres ce que la feste eut este celebree se partirent les roys et les roynes de France et dAngleterre, auec grant compagnie de gens darmes (*et*) auec le duc de Bourgoigne Si vindrent dauant Monstereau[4] a Bray-sur-Seyne le temps pendant que le roy dAngleterre et le duc de Clarance et plusieurs autres des signeurs dAngleterre tenoint sege dauant Ceulx qui la gardoint furent sommez de la rendre au roy de France qui lauoit en son gouuernement, de laquelle chose ils furent reffusez, par quoy le roy dAngleterre la fist assaillir tellement que la ville fut prinse dassault, et XVIII de ceulx qui la tenoint furent panduz, mais neantmoins ceulx du chastel ne se rendirent pas en ce jour, mais il conuint enfin quilz se rendissent le XVIII^e jour de May celui an.

He besieges Montereau.

De Monstereau se partirent celle compagnie et

[1] From 'en tel estat' *deest* in *B*.

[2] *A* and *B*, 'de St. Pierre.'

[3] *A*, 'au bien de sa personne et sante.' The last part of the sentence from 'quilz auoint' *deest* in *B*.

[4] *A* and B add, 'et les dames passerent jusques a Bray.'

A.D. 1420. allerent meptre sege dauant la ville et chastel de Siege of Melun. Melun, le roy dune part deuers les Gastinois, et le duc de Bourgoigne a tout ses gens de lautre partie Auec eulx auoit un duc nomme le duc Rouge, qui la estoit venu des parties dAllemaingne a son aliance Et le roy de France fut mene a Corbeuill, auecques luy les dames pour attendre la fin diceluy siege qui fut tres long, car puix celuy temps qui estoit lentree de Juign, jucques a lacomplissement de VI moys, ceulx qui pour le daulphin estoint dedans ne le voullurent onc rendre ne escouter parolle de traicte Auecques le roy dAngleterre estoit le duc de Bethfort son frere qui nouuellement estoit venu dAngleterre, lequil auoit amene des nouueaulx Anglois, sur lesqueulx tourna la mortalite tant quen lost des Angloys se mourut moult de peuple Moult vaillamment se deffendirent eulx dedans, et y eut de moult belles escarmouches tant de ceulx de dedans que de dehors, mais en la fin par force de famine, qui fut dedans la ville par deffaulte des viures, les conuint rendre a la volunte du roy dAngleterre.

Henry at Paris. De Melun retourna le roy dAngleterre a Corbeuill ou le roy de France et les roynes de France et dAngleterre estoint, et de Corbueil vindrent a Paris touz ensemble les deux roys et roynes, le duc de Bourgoigne, le duc de Clarance, le duc de Bethfort[1] et les autres signeurs de leur compaignie Et donc furent receuz a icelle ville le roi de France comme roy de France, le roy dAngleterre come roy dAngleterre et come heir[2] de France, et les roynes pareillement Donc pour accomplir touz les appointemens quilz auoint faiz, fut baille au roy dAngleterre premierement la ville de Paris auecques toutes les fortresses appartenantes a la coronne de

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[1] *A*, 'Bethford.' [2] *A*, 'hoir.'

A. D. 1420.

France en tant quil y en auoit en lobeissance du duc de Bourgoigne,[1] si non que le roy dAngleterre eust la pocession du boays de Vincennes, et de la bastille Saint Anthoene, pour y meptre cappitaines a sa volunte, et le chastel du Louure en la garde du duc de Bourgoigne, et le tout obeissans au roy dAngleterre come dit est[2] En diuerses prinsons fist il meptre ceulx qui auoint tenu contre luy la ville et le chastel de Melun, car il les auoit fait amener auecques luy a Paris, premierement, messire Guillaume de Barbesen qui en auoit este cappitaine, lequel fut mis en la bastille, et dautres plusieurs furent menez en Angleterre prinsoniers, mais nulz nen fist mourir En lostel des Torelles[3] fist le roy dAngleterre son Nouel a Paris, et y furent les dames dAngleterre qui deuers la royne estoint venues, cest assauoir les duchesses de Clarence, dYorc, et la comtesse de la Marche, la comtesse Mareschal et autres nobles dames du royaume dAngleterre En lostel de Saint Poul furent lors le roy et la royne de France, et le duc de Bourgoigne en lostel dArtoys, et leur donna la ville de beauz dons[4] Et ces jours de Nouuel fisrent leurs ordonances de la ville et du pays par les consulz de Angleterre et de France qui estoint par dela, tant des officiers, que de la monnoye qui fut faicte nouuelle es coigns du roy de France,[5] et en Normandie es coigns du roy dAngleterre soy disant heritier de France come cy dauant auez ouy, et estoit escript entour la pille diceulx coigns du roy dAngleterre, HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE HERES FRANCIE.[6]

A new coinage.

[1] *A* adds, 'et de son gouuernement.'

[2] From 'et le chastel' *deest* in *B*.

[3] *A*, 'Tournelles.'

[4] The last three sentences *desunt* in *B*.

[5] *A*, 'et de Normandie du Roy Dangleterre ainsi que ouy auez;' the rest of the sentence *deest*.

[6] Here Chastelain's MS. ends, and Worcester's MS. (*A*) is taken for the text.

A. D. 1420.

Ces choses acomplies et les sermens receuz de gens de Paris, fust baillie au roy de France et a la royne, (esta,[1]) non pas ainsi qu'ils soulloient, mais en plus grant dominion Puis sen retourna le roy dAngleterre a Rouen, auecques luy la royne accompagnie des dames dAngleterre, et la firent la feste des Rois Sy fut la royne notablement recue au chastel de Rouen, ou la feste fut grant et planiere Celle feste passee tint le roy dAngleterre ung grant parlement de gens des trois estaz de la duchie de Normandie et du pais conqueste Et ordonnerent les conseulx tailles et succides pour le fait de la guerre, et nouuelle monnoie qui seroit dargent, mais elles ne ont point de perfection Ains coururent les monnoies quil avoit ordonees a Rouen, qui estoit de si petite valleur que la livre tournoise ne valloit que IIIJ sous IJ deniers au pris du marc dargent En icelluy parlement en la salle du chastel luy firent hommage le conte de Salisbery de la conte du Perche, et messire Artur de Bretaigne de la conte dIury, qui luy avoit este de nouuel baillie Apres ce parlement amena le roy dAngleterre auecques luy la royne accompagnie des dames dAngleterre, aussi estoient auecques luy le duc de Bedford, le conte de la Marche, le conte Mareschal, le conte Warwyc, et leurs compaignies Sy allerent a Amiens, et de la a Calaiz, sy passerent outre jusques en Angleterre, et allerent a Londres, ou ils furent grandement receus Pour garder les pais de Normandie et de France qui de nouueal auoit est conquise, auoit le roy dAngleterre lessie a Rouen son frere le duc de Clarence, en sa compagnie les contes de Hontynthon, de Sommersed son frere, le conte de Suffok, le conte de Salisbery, le sire de Raz,[2] mes-

January, 1420 (O. S.) Henry holds a Parliament at Rouen.

He conducts his Queen to England.

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[1] 'esta pro état.' This word is found in MS. *B* only.

[2] *B*, 'de Roos.'

sire Jean Grey, le sire de Quin, et pluseurs autres en sa compagnie.

En lan mil IIIJ^cc^xx se mit sur les champs le duc de Clarence, tantost apres le parlement du roy, a tout sa compagnie Sy cheuaucherent lors sur le pais du Mayne, qui appartenoit au roy de Cecille, en prenant forteresses et raençonnant le peuple, tant quilz entrerent en Anjou le Samedy qui fut vigille de Pasques, pres d'un chastel nomme Baugie,[1] ou il estoit venu grande compagnie de gens du pais de France et du royaume dEscosse qui sauourent du daulphin de Vienne Et donc le duc de Clarence senti leur venue, et sans ordonnance ne ses gens attendre leur alla courir seure oultre une riuiere qui estoit entreulx Et donc ainsi que fortune voullut consentir, le conte de Bosquen[2] qui estoit dEscosse eust lhonneur, et que les Anglois furent desconfiz et mors sur le champ, cest assauoir, le duc de Clarence, le sire de Quin, le sire de Roz, messire Jehan Gre, et des prisonniers le conte de[3] Sommersed, et son frere le seigneur Fitzwaster[4] et pluseurs autres grant nombre qui ne moururent pas a celle journee Apres que la jour fut ainsi aduenue et que les corps des mors, cest assauoir du duc de Clarence et des autres seigneurs eurent este portes en Angleterre, sceut le roy les malles nouuelles, parquoy hastivement recuille gens nouueaulx et retourna en France Sy lessa la royne en Angleterre et a tout ses gens dessendit a Calaiz accompagne de douze mil homes quil auoit assembles, tant des nouveaux comme de ceulx de deuant En venant en France print il en Beauuoisin les deux chasteaulx de Raines, puis vint passer Saine a

The Duke of Clarence takes the field.

His death at Beaugé.

Henry returns to France. June 1421.

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[1] *B*, 'Baugy-Vaucre.'
[2] *B*, 'Boquen' (Buchan).
[3] *B* adds, 'de Honthion.'
[4] *B* reads, 'de Syonastre, et peu en eschappa qui ne fussent morts ou prins.'

A. D. 1421. July. He captures Dreux,

Mante[1] hastiuement, et de la alla mettre siege a Dreux que les gens du dauphin tenoient, et auoient moult fait de mal au pays dentour Et se tint le roy dAngleterre tant que le siege dura en Morenual, et fut rendu en Juillet, et il auoit este assis en Juign En icelluy chastel fut trouue le seigneur de Tillers, lequel auoit fait baillier la forteresse au gens du dauphin sur le serment quil auoit fait au roy dAngleterre, pour laquelle cause le roy le fist pendu Pour la cause que les nouuelles vindrent au roy dAngleterre a la fin du siege de Dreux que le daulphin le voulloit combatre, si alla a Chartres et fist son mandement plus fort que deuant au cinquiesme jour dAoust en lan dessus dit, et de Chartres passa tout le pays de Beausse, tant quil vint a Boisgency-sur-Laire, sauoir si le daulphin le veudoit combatre, car de plus pres ne la pouuoit aprochier pour la riuiere de Laire, car il ne le ust peu passer sans domage Pour celle venue desemparerent les gens du daulphin de la ville de Boysgency, mais ilz tindrent le Pont si bien quoncques Anglois ny passa, mais ny pourent les Anglois arester que par deux jours pour ce quils auoyent deffault de viures De la se party le roy dAngleterre, sy prit son chemin droit a Orliens, et en son chemin print dassault un chastel nomme Rouge-mont, ou il fist prendre pluseurs de ceulx qui le tenoient Et de la alla deuant Orleans, ou il fut logie trois jours, mais ny peult longuement seiourner pour la graint fault de viures qui estoit en son host, car en icelluy chemin il perdit moult de gens, cheuaulx, et charroy par deffaute de viures Et quant il vit quil ne seroit point combatu, adonc pour viures recouurer cheuaucha par le Gastinois tant quil vint a Ingy[2]-sur-Yonne, ou il se rafreschit

August. and marches to Boisgency-sur-Loire,

to Orleans,

[1] *B*, 'au pont de Mante.'

[2] *B*, 'Vigny.'

luy et son ost de viures Et quand il oult este a Ingy une piece il se party pour aller a Paris ou il fut tres honnourablement receu⸝ sy le festierent adonc auec le roy de France⸝ et allerent en procession⸝ et apres allerent au bois de Vincennes ou le roy de France demoura⸝ et la royne demoura a Saint Pol a Paris En celluy an mil IIIJ^{cc}XXI le roy dAngleterre se party de Paris⸝ et alla mettre le siege deuant Meaux en Brie ou mois dOctobre⸝ sy fut le roy logie a ung chastel nomme Raytel⸝ et apres sapprocha et fut logie en lAbbaye de S. Pharaon⸝ le duc dExcestre en lAbbaie de Chage⸝ le conte de la Marche aux Cordeliers⸝ le conte de Warwyk en la pointe devers le marche de Meaulx⸝ et leurs gens tout enuiron Tres longuement fist⸝ et pluseurs fois la fist asaillir⸝ tant que ceulx de dedans lesserent la cite⸝ et se recuellirent dedens la Marche⸝ tant fut batu de canons et les murs approuchies par engins que par force les conuint rendre a sa voullente le v^{e} jour de Juing mil IIIJ^{cc}XXIJ Entre les autres qui rendirent la ville estoit ung nomme le bastard de Vaurus ung de leurs cappitaines⸝ auquel le roy dAngleterre fist trencher la teste⸝ et son corps pendre au hault arbre deuant la ville auquel il auoit fait pendre pluseurs sans deserte⸝ et tous les autres furent menes prisonniers en France ou en Angleterre⸝ sy trouua lors de roy dAngleterre dedens la ville moult de richesses.

A. D. 1421. and to Paris.

Jan. 1421 (O. S.) Henry besieges Meaux.

Its capture, June 1422.

En icelluy an mil IIIJ^{cc}XXI fut ne en Angleterre ung filz nomme Henry⸝ procrece du roy dAngleterre et de madame Katherine de France sa femme⸝ le sixiesme jour de Decembre⸝ le jour Sainct Nicolas⸝ duquel les nouuelles furent apportees au roy⸝ ou il tenoit le siege a Meaulx⸝ quant (il fut) grant piece quil fut rendu Par laquelle rendue luy furent rendues toutes les forteresses et villes du pays⸝ cest assauoir⸝ Compiegne⸝ Crespy en Valloys⸝

Birth of Prince Henry.

A.D. 1422.

et pluseurs autres, tant quen icelle contree ny auoit aucune place quie tensist contre luy, synon Montaguillon que tenoient les gens du daulphin Apres celuy siege sen alla le roy dAngleterre a Corbeuil, pour ordonner daucunes de ses affairs, auquel lieu, comme Dieu le voulu, luy print une griefue malladie qui longuement le tint Sy fut lors amene au bois de Vincennes, ou il fut mallade enuiron xv jours, et apres, comme Dieu le voullu, trespassa de son siecle en lautre Et donc apres son trespassement fut porte a Nostre Dame de Paris le corps de luy en habit royal, ou illec fut fait son seruice moult solempnellement, et de Paris fut porte a Rouen, et tres notablement fut fait son seruice en lEglise Cathedrale de Nostre Dame, et de Rouen fut porte en Angleterre, en lEglise de Wastmonstier auec ses predecesseurs.

The King's sickness, and death.

Tantost apres que le roy dAngleterre oult fine ses jours, print au bois de Vincennes au roy de France une fieure lente, qui si fort la tenoit que le corps de lui ne peult soustenir trois acheys,[1] que au IIJ^{e} ne le conuenist mourir Ainsy fina ses jours le roy Charles VI. le quatrieme jour dOctobre,[2] mil IIIJ^{cc}XXIJ et de son regne XLIIJ^{e}[3] Et fut porte a Nostre Dame de Paris, ou son seruice fut notablement fait, comme il estoit acoustume de faire aux roys de France, et porte a S. Denis, et mis en sepulture notablement Et firent lors les gens de Paris grandement leur deuoir a lonneur de luy et du royaume, mais oncques de tous les seigneurs de son sang ny oult aucun a laccompagnier synon le duc de Bedford, Anglois, dont ce fut pitie, veu son noble sanc et lignage.

Death of Charles VI. of France.

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[1] *B*, 'accez.'

[2] *B*, 'le sixieme jour de Septembre.'

[3] *B*, 'XLVI^{e}.'

GLOSSARY.

Authorities :—Roquefort's Glossaire ; Lacombe's Dictionnaire du vieux Langage François ; Vocabulaire Françoise, 1778, &c.

Achez, accez, pro accès ; an attack (of fever).
Adestroit, endestroit ; oppressed, in difficulty ; Lat. *destrictus.*
Ains, anczois ; before that, but ; Lat. *antè.*
Alunctier, ? allouer, *allocare ;* to arrange, approve.
Amont, contremont ; on high, higher up.
Avaller, to throw down ; en bas Lat. *avallare.*
Arse, arsé ; burnt ; Lat. *ardere.*
Ayue ; water ; Lat. *aqua* (in Romaunt, aygua, agua).

Barnage, bargnage ; baggage, but primarily, the men in the *suite* of a baron.
Bende, bande ; a troop, company ; Germ. *bande.*
Braire ; to shout.
Besongne, besogne, besoigne ; task, work.

Captal ; chieftain ; Lat. *caput.*
Chiesf, pro chef ; a head ; Lat. *caput.*
Coignes (coignés) ; coins or dies.
Contemple ; in the meantime.
Cuider ; to think, purpose ; Lat. *cogitare.*

Deboutez ; to drive away ; Lat. *repulsare.*
Deinz ; within.
Dempuix, pro depuis.
Derechiesf, pro de-re-chef (in the Romaunt version of St. John, dereco, in Foulques Fitz-Warin, derechlef) ; again.
Derrien, pro dernier.

Embler, ambler ; to rob with violence ; Gr. *εμβαλλειν*, or Lat. *ambulare.*
Empres ; en après, auprès, near, after ; Lat. *prope.*

Es; a contraction pro en les.
Esconduire; to deny, to refuse; Lat. *ex-condicere*.

Fault; a fault; Lat. *falsus*.
Ferir; to strike; Lat. *ferire*.
Fors; save, except; Lat. *foras, foris*.

Guastinois (Gâtinois); a desert or waste district, from guastine or gast, waste; Lat. *vastare*. One of the many instances of the substitution in English of the *w* for *g*.
Giser, pro gésir; part. geu, to lie; Lat. *jacere*. Hence the old English *gests*, lodging-places.
Grepir, guerpir, pro deguerpir; to abandon; Lat. *discerpere*.
Grevez; grieved; Lat. *gravare*.

Harelle; an *émeute;* apparently allied to the well-known "cri-de-haro."
Heir, hoir (héir); heir; Lat. *herus*, Germ. *herr*.
Hostieulx, hostiaux; plural of hostal, a house.

Illocques; thither, Lat. *illuc*.

Latches, pro lattes; laths.

Mettes, methes; bounds, limits; Lat. *metæ*.
Monsteur, pro montouer, *i.e.* montoir; a stone or block of wood for mounting a horse.
Muer; to change; Lat. *mutare*.
Musce, pro mussé; retreat, concealment; Lat. *amicire*.
My, mey; the middle; Lat. *medium*.

Navrez, from navrier, navréer; to wound seriously; Lat. *vulnerare*.
Neant, nuyant; nothing.
Namtelet (Sus haukyn namtelet, p. 99, On the equipment for hawking).

Oncles, pro oncle; Lat. *avunculus;* "son oncles," a remnant of the language of the Trouvères, see Chronique de Ric. II., p. xxv.
Oncques; ever; Lat. *unquam*.
Ore; now; Lat. *horâ hac*.
Orrez; you will hear or understand, used only in the future; Lat. *audire*.

Paine, peine; substantive, difficulty, distress; Lat. *pœna*.
Parfaire; to perfect, finish; Lat. *perficere*.
Poit (poït), pro poesté; power, authority; Lat. *potestas*.
Pourchaczer (pourchacer); to pursue; Lat. *pro-quassare*.

Querre; to seek; Lat. *quærere*.
Queue; barrique.

Ratiffier; to ratify.
Revoisons, Ronvoysons; the feast of Rogation, from renvoisier, to rejoice; Lat. *rovationum*.

> 'La clef des Ruveisuns
> Sacez par raisuns
> Es xvij Kalendes de Mai est
> Beń l'entendes.'
> (Livre des Créatures, Philip de Thaun.)

Rober; to rob; robéor, robber; Germ. *rauben*.

Seure, pro sus or sur; above, upon; Lat. *sursùm*. 'Sus et jus,' high and low.
Souiller, pro souloir; to be accustomed; Lat. *solere*.
Suire, suivre; to pursue, to attack; Lat. *sequor*.

Uncore; still, yet.
Unes, ung, pro un (unes lices, p. 193); see oncles, *ante*.

Veaus, pro vieux; aged.
Veoirs, pro la vue; the sight.
Vevir; apparently to hate or to persecute, pro véver; Lat. *viduare*.
Voyes, vez, vées, vey; the ford of a river; Lat. *vadum*.

Ystre; to go out; Lat. *exire*.

CORRIGENDA TO THE GLOSSARY OF RICHARD II.

Erre; order, manner of living. 'De grant erre,' with a numerous retinue. Lat. *errare*.
Joe, joé; the cheek; Lat. *gena*. Ang. Sax. *Wang*.

> 'Weping haveth my wonges wet.'
> HARL. MS. 2253, fo. 66.

A FRAGMENT

OF THE

CHRONICLE OF NORMANDY;

FROM THE YEAR 1414 TO THE YEAR 1422.

FROM THE MSS. OF SIR GEORGE CHASTELAIN,

HERALD AND ARCHIVISTE OF THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE,

AND OF WILLIAM WORCESTER.

VERSES ON HENRY V. BY LYDGATE.

(MS. Cott. Julius E. iv. fo. 7. b.)

Aftir him [Henry IV.] regnid his Soñ þanne,
The v Harri, truli a gracious mañ.
At his beginnĩg verament,
He scried[1] lollardis and þei were shent.[2]
Aftir he made religious at Shene þen,
Sion, Jerusalem, and eke Bedelem.
The þrid yere he went truli
And gate Hareflete yn Normandie.
At Aginocourt he had a batil I wisse
Homwardis, and had þe price.
He toke þere þe Duke of Orliaunce,
The Duke of Burbon and mani of Ffraunce;
And aftir þat he winne Caan towne,
Roon and alle Normandi as was to done;
All so he wanne Parise wurschipfulli,
And mani townes with Mevis in Brye.
There he toke þan to his Quene
Katerin þe Kinges doughtir shene.
Off Fraunce his one[3] trwli
Was made Regent þere sekirli.[4]
He had a soñ of her ibore,
That is callid Harri of Windesore,
In Fraunce he deid godeli þrough God is hand,
And so was brought in to Ingelond.
He regnid x yere: who lust to have reward
Ligh at Westminstre not fur from Seint Edward.

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[1] banished; from scrythan, to wander, p. p. scriden.

[2] ashamed, confounded. See Wickliff, Daniel, ch. iii.

[3] own.

[4] surely.

CHRONICLE OF NORMANDY.

(TRANSLATION.)

N the month of June one thousand four hundred and fourteen, the ambassadors of Henry King of England arrived in France, to wit, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Grey, with an esquire named Waterton,[1] and many other attendants in their suite; which ambassadors demanded from the King of France the restoration of the lands belonging to the crown of England, namely, the countries of Normandy, Gascony, Anjou, and Maine, in order to avoid the effusion of human blood, which might be caused by a war. This demand was not granted; but, in order to maintain peace between the two kings, an offer was made to them of the country watered by the Charente towards Gascony; but this offer they would not bind themselves to accept, as they required nothing less than the countries about the river Loire,[2] which (*however*) they

A.D. 1414. June. English ambassadors arrive in France.

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[1] Richard Lord Grey and Robert Waterton, Esq. See note [1], p. 101.

[2] This statement is by no means explicit, nor, indeed, do the MSS. agree as to the territory required. Henry's unreasonable demands, which included also Brittany and Flanders, have been well particularized by the late Sir Harris Nicolas (Battle of Agincourt); but, from a misconception of the meaning of the French chroniclers, he has not done justice to the

A.D. 1415. were denied; for which cause they separated without concluding peace, or coming to any agreement.

King Henry lands with an army at the promontory of the Pays du Caux, 13th Aug.

In the year one thousand four hundred and fifteen, Henry King of England put to sea with a large army, to wit, his brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and Huntingdon, and his uncle, the Earl of Dorset, with many others in their train; who filled full fifteen hundred ships, which anchored off the Head of the "Pays de Caux."[1] They first disembarked on Tuesday[2] the fourteenth day of August, and following days, so that they came before the city of Harfleur and laid siege to it (*from the side*) towards the sea, and there the King of England remained; and his brother, the Duke of Clarence, invested the city on the Rouen side. The siege of that city lasted the space of thirty days, and there were then within it the Sire d'Estouteville, Sir de Gaucourt,[3] with many other knights and barons of the Pays de Caux, who stoutly defended the city; but, as fortune would have it, the city was so battered by the large bombards that the English had brought, and there were so many sick and wounded within, that they

Harfleur besieged,

willingness of the French to meet some of Henry's wishes. Henry demanded as dowry for Katherine a million of gold crowns. The Archbishop of Bourges had offered 900,000 gold francs, and at his last interview he declared he could do no more than he had done, unless it were to change the francs into gold crowns (not as Sir Harris Nicolas reads, p. 27, that it was impossible to change the francs into gold crowns). The archbishop reminded Henry of the awkward fact, that (waiving the objections to the claim of Edward III.) if the succession to the crown of France were not regulated by the salic law, the true heir was the Earl of March.

[1] "Chef de Caux" was corrupted by the English into Kédecaws. The district is still known as the Pays de Caux.

[2] The 14th of August fell on Wednesday. Henry lodged at a priory at Graville. (Monstrelet.)

[3] He is called Sir Ralph by Des Ursins. See also note [1], p. 29.

were forced to offer that if their lives were spared they would surrender the city, their goods to be at the disposal of the king; in consequence of which he allowed the commonalty to depart without carrying away their goods,[1] but he detained the rich and principal burgesses of the city, and compelled all the nobles to promise that they would surrender to him at Calais before the (*feast of*) St. Martin next ensuing, which the greater part of them did, and were a long time detained prisoners in England; and so, upon their parole, they were allowed to depart from Harfleur, but without their armour or goods, and the said city remained with the English from the twenty-fourth of September, on which account the Pays de Caux was ruined, and the smaller fortresses burnt and destroyed.

A. D. 1415. and taken, 24th Sept.

The Earl of Dorset remained in garrison at that town of Harfleur, with a strong company of English; the King of England, with all his army, set out the tenth day of October to go to Calais by land, but his brother, the Duke of Clarence, went by sea on account of his sickness. The King of England then passed through the Pays de Caux, thinking to pass the Somme at Blanche-Tache,[2] but the people of the King of France, who pursued them, and were then at Abbeville, disputed the passage with them, and the English were obliged to proceed higher up the river as far as Abbeville, and thence to Amiens, to Corbie, and to Peronne, beyond which place they crossed the river at night.

Henry sets out for Calais, 10th Oct.

and passes the Somme.

In the town of Peronne were the Dukes of Bourbon and of Alençon, (who had been created a duke

[1] Henry allowed the clergy and the women to wear and take away all their best robes, so that they made no bundles, and forbad the women to be searched. (Des Ursins.)

[2] 'The spot of white sand' at the mouth of the Somme.

A.D. 1415. on the feast of Christmas preceding, when his earldom was changed into a duchy,) the Duke of Bar, the Earls of Eu, of Vendôme, and of Richmond, the Lord de Labreth,[1] constable of France, and the Marshal Boucicault, accompanied by a great many horsemen, inasmuch that they were computed to be ten thousand men-at-arms, who pursued the King of England's army; but as soon as they knew that the English had crossed the river Somme, they took the field and pursued them, and so the English rode straight to Hédin,[2] because that the two armies had promised, by their heralds, to give each other battle on the Thursday the twenty-fourth of October,[3] but the French who pursued them, immediately that they knew they had passed the Somme, took the field, and the English did not keep to their covenant that day, but held on their way more to the left than in their direct course; which when the French perceived, they rode forward straight across the country to get a-head of them, at the ford of a river which runs to Blangy in Ternoys,[4] so that on that same Thursday, at vespers, the two armies were in sight of each other, and encamped near each other that night.

Is pursued by a French army.

The Battle of Agincourt, 25th Oct.

On Friday the twenty-fifth day of the same month, being the feast of St. Crispin, at break of day both sides prepared for battle. At that hour the French

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[1] The Lord d'Albret, but he is called de Labreth in a document of the 1st Hen. IV. (Privy Seal Writs, State Paper Office.)

[2] Formerly a place of some importance. At this town Henry VIII. had an interview with Francis I., and from Hédin he dated many letters.

[3] According to the Berry Herald Henry had promised to meet the French at Aubigny en Artois, but this does not comport with Henry's answer to the French heralds, as given by his chaplain.

[4] A district which derives its name from the little river Ternoise.

A. D. 1415.

were joined by the Dukes of Orleans and of Brabant, and by the Count de Nevers his brother,[1] who had each brought his little band, resolved to stand or fall with them in the said battle. On that day they were drawn up in order of battle in a valley near Agincourt, and the French had then appointed three hundred horsemen in armour to rout the English archers who were between the main bodies of the two armies, and when the horsemen had formed they thought to charge the archers, but the shower of arrows fell upon them so thickly, that they were compelled to retreat amongst their own people,[2] by which they broke their vanguard, which was close by ready for action. At the same moment both the horsemen and the foot soldiers ran to fall upon and pillage the horses and baggage of the English which they had left in the rear during the battle. Such was the commencement of the battle on that day in the valley before mentioned, where the ground was so soft that the French foundered in it, for which cause and from their line being broken by (*their own*) horse, they could not again join battle, but were more and more defeated, and, as God would

[1] The Duke of Brabant and the Count de Nevers were brothers of the Duke of Burgundy.

[2] Martial de Paris speaks of the shouts of the English, probably the hearty English Hurrah!

"Quant les Angloys o leur charroy
Virent la maniere de faire,
Et les Françoys en desarroy,
Se prendrent à frapper et braire."

So Des Ursins: "Et firent iceux Anglois à cheval un si grand et merveilleux cry, qu'ils espouventerent nos gens, tellement que tous nos gens dicelle seconde bataille s'enfuirent." (Ed. Godefroy, p. 424).

It has been supposed that Henry had no cross-bowmen with him at Agincourt, yet, amongst the indentures of war preserved in the State Paper Office, is one with Johan Sire de Saintpée for twenty men-at-arms on horseback, and one hundred crossbowmen, twenty horse, and eighty foot, at 9*d*. and 6*d*. per day each, date, 26th May, 3rd year. (Privy Seal Writs, Bund. 4 Hen. V.). They might, however, have been left at Harfleur.

A.D. 1415. have it, lost the day. It was then a pitiful sight to behold the dead and the wounded who covered the field, and the number of men-at-arms who turned and fled.

When the Duke of Alençon saw the French in such disorder, he mounted his horse and attempted to rally them, but in vain, for he could do nothing; and when he saw that there was no help for it, he returned to the fight, which still continued, where, as was said, he then performed such feats of arms, and (*fought*) so gallantly, that it was marvellous to behold, and so there he (*fighting*) fell. Now, the Duke of Britany and his people, and the people of Louis the late King of Sicily,[1] were not present on that day. On the Thursday they lay at Amiens, and as they were setting out on the Friday, they received the news of the defeat, on which account the duke returned, although they were numerous enough to have given the English battle again. In that battle died the Dukes of Brabant, of Alençon, and of Bar, the Count of Nevers, and the Lord d'Albret, who was Constable of France, with seven or eight thousand knights and esquires of France and of Hainault, besides several who were taken prisoners. On the side of the English died the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk, and of the other (*classes*) a great number that could not exactly be known because the dead lay all together. The prisoners taken on that day were the Dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, the Counts of Eu, Vendôme, and Richmond, the Marshal Boucicault, and

[1] Louis, Duke of Anjou, was twice accepted and rejected as king by the Neapolitans, who preferred Lladislaus. Their fickle conduct so disgusted Louis, that when, after the death of the usurper, they wished him to ascend the throne, he refused to do so. He died at Angers, 29th April, 1417. His father, Louis d'Orléans, was brother to Charles V. of France. (Moréri.)

many others. When the battle was over, the people of the King of Sicily came up, when the English feared that they should be again attacked, on which account proclamation was made that each man should put to death his prisoner, except the nobles, and for this cause many prisoners were put to death. The English encamped on the field that same Friday night, and stripped the dead of their arms.

A.D. 1415.

26th Oct. Henry continues his march to Calais.

On the morrow, Saturday, the 26th day of October, the King of England, with all his lords who survived that battle, left the field, and rode towards Guynes, and thence to Calais, where they refreshed themselves; and then the Count of Charolais, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, who was at Arras, caused the field to be consecrated, and the dead to be interred, except the bodies of the nobility, whom he caused to be carried each to his own territory.

The Emperor of Germany arrives at Paris,

That same year, the Emperor of Germany (*Sigismund*), King of Bohemia and of Hungary, came to Paris to mediate a peace between the Kings of France and England. He was domiciled at the Louvre, and had much conference with the council concerning a treaty of peace, for the king was so utterly prostrated by his malady, that he was not in a state to be consulted. The emperor then crossed over to England, and was honourably entertained at Westminster, where he remained a long time. When he returned, the King of England accompanied him as far as Calais; and the Duke of Burgundy, who was in Flanders, was ordered to meet him there (*being furnished*) with the safe conduct of the King of England, whose brother, the Duke of Gloucester, became hostage for him until his return to the city of St. Omer. What passed between them at their conference was kept secret, for no other person besides the three was present. The emperor, the

and proceeds to England.

Meeting of the Emperor, King Henry, and the Duke of Burgundy.

A. D. 1415. king, and the duke then set out from Calais, according to the agreement to which they had come. Then was the constable's sword conferred upon the Count of Armagnac, in room of the Lord d'Albret who died at the battle of Agincourt, and the count went to Paris to fulfil the duties of his office. The Earl of Dorset, uncle of the King of England, was then in garrison at Harfleur, as has before been stated.

(A. D. 1416, N. S.)
The Earl of Dorset makes a foray.

The same year, one thousand four hundred and fifteen, the Earl of Dorset quitted Harfleur, and rode through the Pays de Caux as far as Cany, on the river Grainville, which town, at his departure, he set on fire. Now it happened that the Count of Armagnac, who was then constable of France, had taken the field with a numerous company of men-at-arms, both of his own and of the frontier forces, as Sir Louis de Longny's, Sir Thibaud de Laval's, and several others. Now the same day that the English had quitted the Pays de Caux, being the fourteenth day of March, they encountered each other on the field at Bienville, near Vallemont. The English then dismounted from their horses, but the French did not, for in the quarter where the Sire de Longny was, his people fought on horseback, and put to the rout all whom they encountered; and (*then*) the Earl of Dorset, with all on the other side, formed their line of battle behind a ditch at the side of a garden, where the French could not get at them to run them down. At that place and at the garden entrance the English lost seven or eight hundred men, according to the report of those who buried them; but the survivors still held their ground until night, when the two counts communed respecting a truce, without a soul beyond themselves knowing what passed between them. After this, the Count of Armagnac sounded his trumpet, and left the Eng-

14th March, he encounters the Earl of Armagnac.

Battle of Cany.

lish in the place. He then went to Vallemont, and lay there with his company, very much to the discontent and wrath of all the French; for, as they said, they were numerous enough to fight the English, if the count had been willing; but thus they left, and the English lost all their horses and armour. The following night the English set out on foot, much distressed, retreating towards the sea; and all that night they marched along the river side straight to Harfleur. On the following morning, the Count of Armagnac and his companions mounted to horse, and pursued them, and came up with them at the promontory of Caux as they were wandering along the sea-shore: and the French went down to give them battle; but neither the Count of Armagnac, nor any of his men, stirred from the top of the cliff, nor went down, but looked down on those who were fighting below without helping them or giving them any assistance, on which account the French were defeated, and a great many men were slain on both sides; but the English had the best of the day. Many knights and gentlemen of the Pays de Caux fell there; amongst the number was the Sire de Villequiet, who behaved most gallantly. After this, the English returned within Harfleur, and the Count of Armagnac threw himself within Monstredevilliers without accomplishing anything else.[1]

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[1] The version of the Monk of St. Denys is more favourable to the French. He relates, that the English shamefully fled, and that the Earl Dorset and his companions concealed themselves, the night after the battle, in a wood called Les Loges, and that they escaped next day to the shore, and thence, by a boat which they found there, to Harfleur. He is not, however, supported by Monstrelet, St. Rémy, or Des Ursins. The two latter relate that the French lost 12,000 men. In this foray the English lost all their horses and waggons, "and many fools that would not be ruled. The Earl of Dorset himself was sore hurt." (MS. Cott. Cleop. c. iv. fo. 28).

A. D. 1415.

Divisions in France.

In the same year, one thousand four hundred and fifteen, on the seventeenth day of November, the Duke of Guyenne, eldest son of the king of France, died at Paris, and upon his death Sir John, the youngest son but one, Count of Ponthieu, who had married the daughter of the Count of Hainaut, became the senior Baron of France; but the said Count of Ponthieu feared to enter France on account of some who had the command of the forces of the Duke of Orleans, for they hated all those who favoured the Duke of Burgundy, as the Count of Tancarville and many others; but the Count of Hainaut went to Paris to endeavour to accommodate matters so that the Count of Ponthieu might go there in safety, and also on account of a certain treaty of peace with the King of England, which was in the course of arrangement.[1] In the mean while, the Count of Ponthieu was arrested on his way to Paris, and imprisoned at Compiègne, in consequence of which he very soon died; and the Count of Hainaut was imprisoned at Paris just after his death at Compiègne, which event was much to be lamented.[2]

John Duke of Bedford relieves Harfleur.

In the year one thousand four hundred and sixteen, at the beginning of August, John Duke of Bedford, brother to the King of England, set sail with a large army to relieve the town of Har-

[1] The Count of Hainaut had the boldness to say, that if they did not consent to his demands he would carry off the dauphin to Hainaut. In consequence he was ordered to be arrested, but he fled from Paris. The dauphin, John, died on the 18th December, "Mercredi des quatre temps." (Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris.) William of Hainaut died soon afterwards, the last day of May following, "pridie kal. Junii." (Meyerus, Annales Flandricarum.) The dauphin, Charles, who succeeded his brother, only lived to enjoy the dignity about fifteen months, and died 3rd April, 1417. He quarrelled with Louis King of Sicily for having repudiated his daughter. (Idem.)

[2] The MSS. do not agree as to the fact of the Count of Hainaut's imprisonment at Paris.

fleur which was much distressed and in danger of famine, for the French and Genoese carracks and other ships cruizing (*off the port*) which prevented the arrival of any relief or provision to the town, and they had surrounded it with a circle of strong outworks by land. The Duke of Bedford appeared before Harfleur the middle day of August with three hundred sail of ships, and gave battle to all those carracks and other vessels which had been sent by the King of France; and on that day was the navy of the King of France defeated, some ships were taken and others escaped, so that the city was relieved, notwithstanding that the Count of Armagnac, Constable of France, was at Honfleur with a large force to hinder any descent in that quarter.[1] When Harfleur was revictualled, the Duke of Bedford returned to England with all his navy and the carracks that he had captured.

A.D. 1416. August.

The duke attacks and defeats the French fleet.

At that time there was not one of the princes of the royal family at Paris, but the kingdom was governed by the creatures of the constable, Sir Henry de Marle, Chancellor of France, John Piquet, Bishop of Clermont, and Master Rignier de Vauligny, who controlled everything. The same year the Duke of Berry died at Paris; he was carried to Bourges and there interred.[2]

Paris governed by a clique.

[1] Bernard, Count of Armagnac, had not always opposed the English. In 1412 he joined with the princes of France in requesting their assistance against the Duke of Burgundy, and when the treaty of Auxerre had annulled that step, he alone remained faithful to the English, and assisted them to retake some places in Guienne. (L'Art de ver. les Dates.)

[2] John Duke of Berry was a munificent patron of literary men. A list of his books is preserved in the preface to Le Laboureur's History of Charles VI.; amongst them is Creton's partly poetical narrative of the betrayal of Richard the Second, valued at 100 sous of Paris, which was given to the duke by John of Montagu, Vidame of Laonnais, Grand Master of the Household to

A.D. 1416. 6th Oct. The Earl of Huntingdon attacks the Spanish and Genoese fleet off Harfleur.

About the same time Harfleur was again threatened by another fleet which lay before it (*composed*) of Genoese, Spaniards, and others, on which account a fleet set sail from England, commanded by the Earl of Huntingdon, and came in sight of the French fleet off Honfleur the sixth day of October, and came up with the flush of the tide to give them battle, but all the Spanish ships fled, and as the carracks that remained were not manned with their proper compliment, the whole navy was defeated, the Bastard of Bourbon, captain of the fleet, was taken prisoner, and many others. Thus was Harfleur again relieved and victualled, of which it stood much in need, and afterwards the fleet returned to England with the prizes they had taken.[1]

The men of Rouen join the Duke of Burgundy.

In that same year, one thousand four hundred and sixteen, the greater part of the commonalty of Rouen arose in favour of the Duke of Burgundy, wishing to place themselves under his authority, and to be independent, contrary to the duty they owed to their liege and sovereign lord the King of France: so they arose by night, and cruelly murdered in his house Sir Ralph de Gaucourt, bailiff of Rouen; the same night they threw into the Seine, above bridge, one named John Legier, his lieutenant, and his nephew with him, besides committing many other excesses against right reason and justice. The king's council sent the Bishop of Lisieux and the Sire de Bacqueville to Rouen, hoping to pacify them; but, as they could do nothing whatever with them, the

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Charles VI. As John of Montagu was executed in 1409, Creton's poem must have been written previous to that time.

[1] On the 7th of January, 1416, Henry ordered 300 quarters of wheat and 50 quarters of malt to be sent from Great Jernemouth (Yarmouth) to Harfleur, and 1000 "bacons" to be sent to Chichester, and 2000 oxen to Haverfordwest, from South Wales, for the same destination. (MS. Donat. 4600, art. 163.)

A.D. 1416.

Dauphin of Vienne, youngest son of the King of France, who had succeeded to that title on the death of his brother John, Count of Ponthieu, took the field with a strong force of men-at-arms, accompanied by the Duke of Alençon (son of him who was slain at Agincourt), Sir Charles of Bourbon,[1] Sir John of Harcourt, Peter de Rieux, Marshal of France, and many others.

The Dauphin repairs to Rouen, but is refused admittance.

The dauphin then came to St. Katherine's above Rouen,[2] thinking to enter into the city, but it was closed against him; not, as the citizens said, against him personally, but against the strangers that were in his company; nevertheless, the most notable burgesses of the city of Rouen, with the Lord de Grosmenil, who was then their captain, went to him at St. Katherine's to offer their excuses, alleging that this rebellion was not caused by them, but by the people of low estate, as drapers and others.

But Peter of Bourbon, captain of the castle of Rouen, admitted the people of the dauphin by the great tower of the castle, to hold it against the townspeople; and when the dauphin had remained a long time in order of battle before Rouen, as the gates were still closed against him, he retreated, on the twenty-fifth day of July, to Déville, to the hôtel of the archbishop, where he remained three days, and where the people of the city sent him a present of wine. During these three days Sir Louis de Harcourt, who was then Archbishop of Rouen,[3] and Sir Jean Mallet, eldest son of Graville,[4] who was

[1] One MS. reads, Sir Thomas of Agincourt.

[2] Traces of the fortifications which formerly surrounded the abbey of St. Katherine may still be distinguished on this beautiful hill.

[3] A descendant of this respectable family is still Archbishop of Rouen, and deservedly esteemed.

[4] The Sire de Graville who opposed the English at Pont de l'Arche.

A.D. 1416.

there, meditated between the townspeople and the dauphin, begging that he would pardon their rebellion against him; upon which he agreed that the strangers should not be lodged in the city, but nevertheless he and his own company entered the city, and at the request of the citizens he appointed John of Harcourt, the archbishop's nephew, to be their leader, with such other officers as they desired.

Defection of Dieppe.

That year the city of Dieppe rebelled, and received within (*the walls*) Sir Guy de Bouteiller, commander of the forces of the Duke of Burgundy, and others of his countrymen, who held the city a long time, and made war upon Arques, Pont-Tanquart, and other fortresses that did not league with their party.

A.D. 1417. August. Henry lands at Touques Castle,

On the fifteenth day of August, in the year of grace one thousand four hundred and seventeen, the King of England made a descent again (*in France*) at Touque, and landed at the castle place, on the Honfleur side, when the castle surrendered upon capitulation, and Auvilliers did the same.[1] In like manner he went to Caen, and laid siege to it the sixteenth day of August, the king encamping (*on the side*) towards the sea, before the Porte Millet, his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, lying at Vancelles, and his people round about the castle and the city. They then caused the city to be vigorously bombarded with the bombards they had brought with them,[2] by which the walls were much damaged, so that they held a council and decided to take it by

[1] The dates of the chronicler are not to be relied upon. Refer to page 112.

[2] Some of Henry's cannons were made of brass, and cast and proved at Worcester. (Acts of Privy Council, II. 339.) Since the sheet C, page 17, was in the press, the introduction of cannons into field warfare in England has been traced to the first year of Edward III. They were called "cracks" by Barbour.

A.D. 1417.

assault, for there were but few men-at-arms to defend the place. They accordingly assailed the city at many places (*at the same time*), and gained an entrance at the quarter of the Jacobins; but the castle still held out, though not long, for it was soon rendered by capitulation. On account of the capture of Caen the city and castle of Baieux submitted, as well as the other small castles in the neighbourhood, as Tylly, Creuilly, Courseulles, Lingième, and many others. And to prove the favour that the Duke of Burgundy had to the English, at the same time that the King of England made his descent at Touque, the duke took the field, and went to Paris, without making war upon the King of England, for it rather seemed that he was of his party.

and captures Caen,

Baieux, and other places.

The Duke of Burgundy is neutral.

Shortly after these events, the King of England left Caen, and marched direct to Argentan, where he arrived the twenty-seventh day of October,[1] but he scarcely rested there, for the town and castle immediately submitted to him. In like manner submitted the towns and castles of the duchy of Alençon, to wit, Exmes, Séez, Essay, Chambroys, and many others. Leaving Argentan, the King of England went and lay before Alençon, and laid siege to it, which lasted about eight days, and the twenty-seventh day of October, both city and castle surrendered to him. After these events, the Duke of Brittany came and made a truce for a year from Christmas next ensuing. Then were surrendered to him (*the King of England*) Bourg-le-Roi and many other fortresses. As the King of England had now captured Alençon and the fortresses around it, he returned to Caen and Baieux, where he sojourned

October.

Alençon and its fortresses submit to Henry.

The Duke of Brittany makes a truce with him.

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[1] Henry dated his writs from "Argenthen" on the 7th of October, and from Alençon Castle on the 25th of the same month.

A.D. 1417. whilst his people overran the country. The Duke of Gloucester made his appearance before Rouen on St. Katherine's day, whilst a part of the army invested Faloise, for it was strongly garrisoned. At that time the Lord Talbot, an Englishman, with five or six hundred men, overran the province of Côtentin, which was still French, and having passed the ford of St. Clement, he rode through the country, to which he did great damage by fire and otherwise. The nobles of the country had assembled the people to oppose the said Englishman, and as the English were about to repass the ford, they were overtaken by the flush of the tide, which covered it, on which account the people of the country cut them up, but the Lord Talbot, like a true knight, passed the ford gallantly with a little band, and made his escape.[1]

The Duke of Gloucester reconnoitres Rouen, 25th Nov. and the Lord Talbot invades the Côtentin.

Henry besieges Falaise,

Shortly afterwards the King of England returned before Falaise, and on the fourth day of November, in the year beforementioned, laid siege to the town and castle. The Duke of Gloucester was lodged on the Guibray side, and the king of England was on the other side, near the castle. He then placed his bombards before it, when the town and castle were so battered that for that reason, and being short of provisions, the towns-people surrendered upon capitulation on the fifteenth day of January, the year aforesaid; but the garrison of the castle held out a month longer. Notwithstanding the castle was so battered and undermined that they were obliged to surrender, chiefly in consequence of the badness of the works which the garrison had constructed during the siege.

After the surrender of Falaise the King of Eng-

[1] This was not the "Valiant Talbot" from whom one of the towers at the Castle of Falaise received its name, but Gilbert, Lord de Talbot, who died at the siege of Rouen. See note[2], p. 128.

land returned to Caen and made a proclamation to the people of Normandy, of the bailiwicks of Caen and Falaise, who were then absent, by which he gave away to his people who had served him the lands of all such as should not return after the proclamation had been made; in particular, he gave to his brother, the Duke of Clarence, for life, the viscounties of Auge, Orbec and Pontaudemer with all the lands of the absentees in the said viscounties, which gift was made on the sixteenth day of February the year aforesaid.[1]

A.D. 1417.

A.D. 1418. (N. S.) returns to Caen,

The King of England held the feast of St. George that year in the city of Caen, when he knighted many members of his household.[2] About that time the Earl of March made a descent in Côtentin at La Hogue-St.-Wast,[3] with a large force of English, and did much damage to the enclosures of the country; they advanced to St. Lo, thinking to take the city, but at that time they could accomplish nothing, and so went to join the king.

and holds a chapter of St. George.

The Earl of March besieges St. Lo.

In the year of grace one thousand four hundred and eighteen, at the beginning of May, the Duke of Clarence left the king at Caen and set out for the country which the king had given him, accompanied by the Earl of Salisbury. He arrived at Lisieux, which his people held for him, for the garrison had

The Duke of Clarence repairs to Lisieux.

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[1] 26th February. (Norman Rolls.)

[2] Amongst the number were Sir Lewis Robsart or Robessart, afterwards Lord Bouchier (or, as he signed his name, Bourgchier), Sir John Shotebroke, Sir John Stewart, Sir Roger Salveine, and Sir John Montgomery. (Anstis' Observations on the Knighthood of the Bath.) It is highly probable that Sir John Robsart (father to Lewis), Hugh Stafford (Lord Bouchier), Sir William Phillip (Lord Bardolf), and Sir John Grey, were then elected to fill the vacancies which had occurred in the order of the garter. (Beltz, Memorials of the Garter.)

[3] Now called St. Vaast-la-Hougue, from which spot James II. witnessed the destruction of the French fleet in 1692.

A. D. 1418. quitted the preceding summer before the French (*inhabitants*) had quitted; and from this town he took possession of the country which the king had given him. The Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Salisbury left Lisieux, and made their appearance before Harcourt, which surrendered to them on the sixth of May. They found there the treasures of the Count of Harcourt, which were wonderfully great—all kinds of princely things—which treasures came into the possession of the Duke of Clarence by the capitulation of the said castle. From thence he proceeded to the Abbey of Bec-Helouin,[1] which was then the strongest place of that country. After he had been about twenty days before that place, it yielded to him by capitulation.

The Duke of Gloucester overruns the Côtentin.

At the same time that the Duke of Clarence left Caen, the Duke of Gloucester, who was the king's brother, set out for Côtentin, which the king had given him, but which was yet to be conquered; and with him were the Lord Grey, the Earl of March, and many other powerful captains. To him surrendered the towns of St. Lo, Carentan, Coutances, Avranches, and Pontorchon,[2] the castles of Pont-

[1] Now called Bec or Le Bec. It yielded on the 4th of May. (Rot. Norm.) See note [3], p. 119.

[2] Henry permitted Arthur of Brittany, Count of Richmond, to establish himself at Pontorson, under the guard of the Duke of Norfolk, but forbad him to enter Brittany. The Editor wishes here to correct an error he has made in note [3], p. 48. In 1421, at length Henry permitted Arthur to visit his native land, on his obligation to return when required so to do. Henry, after his marriage, did summons Arthur to his presence, and he obeyed without a murmur. He was witness to the reception of Katherine in England, and, when there, Henry gave him the option of eternal captivity or of serving him in arms. He chose the latter alternative, and had the command of 1500 men-at-arms, Henry's private guard, and assisted at the siege of Melun. Arthur married a sister of the Duchess of Bedford, a daughter of Jean sans Peur, and widow of the dauphin, who died in 1416. After Henry's death, he requested from the Duke of Bedford the command of the English and

doue, Valognes, St. Sauveur, and Briquelet,[1] and all the other small fortresses; but Cherbourg still held out against him, and he laid siege to it with a strong force of Englishmen. The Earl of Suffolk was also at the siege, and commanded a division under the Duke of Gloucester.

At the same time that they left Caen, (*soon*) after Easter, the Earl of Warwick[2] and the Lord Talbot were ordered to besiege the town and castle of Damptfront,[3] where they were a long time before they won them, as you will hear from him and from others, as also the manner of their investing the place.

Before relating more concerning the English, I will speak of the government of the towns which were not conquered; for on account of the favour and esteem which the inhabitants bore to the Duke of Burgundy, they wished to submit to him; but the duke knew nothing about it.[4] In the month of April of that year the towns of Pontoise, Mantes, Vernon, Evreux, and Louviers surrendered to (*his captains*) the Lords Chastelluz[5] and Lisle-Adam,[6] Sir Louis de Bar, and Sir William Decraves, who received their submission, and (*then*) besieged the other fortresses which loyally held to the party of

Pontoise and other towns submit to the Duke of Burgundy.

Burgundian army, and, on being refused, he quitted Paris for Vannes, and became the enemy of England. Up to this time he had nobly refused all solicitations to break his parole to Henry. (Mazas, Vie des Grands Capitaines du Moyen Age, Paris, 1828-9, tom. vi.)

[1] Bricquebec.

[2] One of the MSS. reads, the Earl of Salisbury, which is an error.

[3] Domfront.

[4] The Editor is not sure that the Duke is here referred to, "et si nen savoit rien." The text is apparently corrupt.

[5] The Lord of Chastelluz was councillor and chambellain to Jean sans Peur, and subsequently a marshal.

[6] Jean de Villiers. (Bouchet, Annales d'Aquitaine.)

A. D. 1418. the King of France, hoping (*for succour*) from the Duke of Orleans.

Their example is followed by Rouen.

Shortly after these events, the city of Rouen, wishing to imitate the example of the other cities, sent secretly for Sir Guy le Bouteiller, who commanded at Dieppe for the Duke of Burgundy, and admitted him and his company within the city by St. Hillary's Gate, which event happened on the twelfth day of January, one thousand four hundred and eighteen. (O. S.) But they and their allies committed much evil, plundering and robbing both in the city and the suburbs. They laid siege to the castle, and set the lower court on fire; and during the five days that they were before it, they so marvellously battered it with cannons, that John of Harcourt, the captain, not being able to resist their power, and being in want of provisions, surrendered upon capitulation, stipulating that he and his people should retain their goods. In like manner (*capitulated*) the Abbey of St. Katherine, where was Sir Robert de Braquemont, who was Admiral of France.

The Parisians invite the Burgundians.

At that time the Count of Armagnac, who was at Paris, thought to remove the chains from the streets of Paris secretly by night, that he might have the city under subjection, which so displeased the citizens that they took the following marvellous step: some of them sent to Sir Louis de Bar, bailiff of Ausois, who was then at Mantes, the Lord of Chastelluz who was in the town of Vernon, William Decraves, bailiff of Evreux, and the Lord of Lisle-Adam, to come to Paris. All who were not of the party of the Duke of Burgundy agreed together to submit to them; so the said Burgundians entered Paris with their men, and the greatest part (*of the citizens*) sided with them.

A.D. 1418.

They went to St. Paul,[1] where the king was, and seized upon his person. At that time the dauphin was at the "Hôtel du Petit Muscé" (*the little Retreat*), and knew nothing of this affair, but Sir Tanneguy du Chastel went to his chamber, and told him the news, and then taking him up in his arms just as he was, carried him off to the bastille St. Antoine[2] to be in safety out of their reach.

Defeat of the Armagnacs.

Then all the party of the Duke of Orleans escaped from the city as well as they could, and assembled outside the city,[3] taking refuge in the Bastille, and then suddenly entered the city on horseback, charging the Burgundians down the street St. Katherine as far as the cross of the Porte-Baudet, attempting to recover the city; but they failed in their object, for the Burgundians drove them back. They were sorely defeated there, for the Burgundians cut off their retreat, and charging them in front, killed as many as they took prisoners, who were from seven to eight hundred men. The dauphin was then secretly conveyed away to Melun.

The Dauphin retires to Melun.

Massacre of the Armagnacs.

When the Burgundians had become masters of Paris, and the citizens had allied themselves with them, they seized all they could find of the Duke of Orleans' party; in particular, the Count of Armag-

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[1] L'hôtel des Tournelles, ou de St. Paul, in the Rue St. Antoine, was, according to Du Chesne, Antiquités des Villes de France, p. 102, the residence of the Duke of Orleans. It was demolished in 1564, when the Tuileries was commenced. The Duchess of Bedford died there. But from a subsequent part of this Chronicle it appears that the two palaces were distinct buildings. In a MS. note to Pasquier, Recherches sur la France (Brit. Mus. p. 441), the Hôtel des Tournelles is said to be the same with that now called "Le palais royal de nouvel Bathe."

[2] So called, because it was situated near the gate St. Antoine.

[3] Tanneguy du Chastel escaped to Melun with Étienne Vignioles (surnamed La Hire) and Pothon de Xaintrailles, all of whom afterwards figured in the wars against the English. (Bouchet, Annales d'Aquitaine.)

A. D. 1418. nac, Constable of France, Sir Henry de Marle, the Chancellor, the Bishop of Lisieux, a member of the Council, the Bishop of Evreux, Remonnet de la Guerre, and many others who were within and without the city, whom they secured in the dungeons of the château and of the palais. Many others were put to death within the city, some for the sake of their property, and some in hot blood. About three weeks afterwards, when matters were supposed to have subsided, that slaughter of the Armagnacs, which was so popular, was renewed by the Parisians, for they made the round of the prisons, and put to death all they found there, even the Count of Armagnac and the Chancellor of France, as well as Remonnet de la Guerre, who were in the tower of the palace; and they cast their dead bodies down the steps right as far as the block where the king used to mount his horse, and in derision they took a knife, and cut a band of skin from the body of the constable, to shew that he was an Armagnac.[1] The same scenes were enacted at the castle as at the other prisons, for there they killed the Bishop of Lisieux and many others, so

[1] "Ce conte avoit une jambe rompue, et si avoit-il esté tranché d'un cousteau parmy le corps en guise d'une bende, depuis les espaules jusques en bas." (Des Ursins.) The Armagnacs wore a band of white leather, and bore a white St. Andrew's cross, over their coat armour. They were nicknamed Bandéz. (Pasquier.) The Burgundians bore a red cross of St. Andrew. Walsingham states that 14,000 persons perished in this massacre, and 5000 women. Mazas, in his Vie des Grands Capitaines du Moyen Age, tom. vi., places the number of the slain at 3000, besides 2000 more in the two following days. In addition, there were 150 lords, heads of ancient families. Amongst the distinguished persons who perished, Walsingham enumerates the Cardinal de Bar, the Chancellor of France, the Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Mentz, Constance (son of the Chancellor) and Lisieux, the Abbots of St. Denys and Pormayl,(?) and the Rector of the University.

A.D. 1418.

that not a single prisoner remained; some were forced to leap out of window, and were massacred in the streets; others were killed in the open streets and in the houses where they were found. For three days lasted this butchery; some were put to death for the sake of their goods, and some from wantonness. During these three days and nights were the corpses of the Count of Armagnac, the Chancellor, and Remonnet (*de la Guerre*) in the dirt of the courtyard of the palace, and after the slaughter was over, these corpses, and several others, were thrown into the fields, where they were interred, not from any pity, but because of their putrefaction.

The Duke of Burgundy seizes the government.

Shortly afterwards the Duke of Burgundy came to Paris,[1] and took upon himself the government again, bestowing in the king's name, but according to his own pleasure, the offices to his own creatures, whilst the other party were powerless, and could do nothing but look on. Thus was all the country along the Seine placed in subjection to the Duke of Burgundy, excepting Gisors, La-Roche-Guyon, and Pont-de-l'Arche, for Caudebec had agreed to share the fate of Rouen.

Let us now return, as we ought, to the deeds of the English, who were then in Normandy, and let us go back to Easter in the year one thousand four hundred and eighteen, when the King of England had sent his people to besiege several towns, and to his departure from Caen the first week in May, taking with him his stores. He (*first*) went to Lisieux, thence to Bec-Hellouyn, where he found

[1] The Duke of Burgundy had lingered so long at Longny-sur-Marne, that he received the sobriquet of Jean de Longny. (Barante.)

A.D. 1418. May. Louviers surrenders to Henry.

his brother, the Duke of Clarence; he then proceeded to the town of Louviers, to which he laid siege on the first day of May, and on the eighteenth of the same month the town surrendered to him. After the surrender of that city the king went and appeared before Pont-de-l'Arche, and besieged the city on the seventeenth day of June, from the forest side, he himself lodging at the abbey of Bonport.[1] The siege lasted eighteen days, with scarcely any damage to the town, when it surrendered upon capitulation, for the English had crossed the river Seine in spite of the French, at two places, to wit, at a spot called "Les Dans," and to the right of the Abbey of Bonport, so that they put the French to flight, especially the Lord of Chastelluz, who had been appointed Marshal of France by the Duke of Burgundy. When the English had crossed over, they took up their position right opposite the castle, in consequence of which the garrison agreed to surrender the castle and the town, if they were not relieved within eight days, and as they were not, they surrendered on the sixteenth of July.

Pont-de-l'Arche submits.

Henry besieges Rouen.

The King of England took his departure thence just before the (*feast of the*) Magdalen, and marched to the city of Rouen, to which he laid siege both by land and from the river Seine. Long and severe was that siege. The King of England was lodged in the house of the Carthusians, the Duke of Clarence, who commanded the advanced guard, encamped in St. Gervais; at the castle place, the Earl of Dorset, who had been created Duke of Exeter, lay before the Abbey of St. Katherine's, which was then a

[1] Henry never despoiled the abbeys, but, on the contrary, confirmed all their charters. The confirmations of those of St. Wandreville (or Wandrille), Vernon, 'Sancaye,' Kévilly, Voto, St. Amand, and Noé, are in the Rot. Norm. 8 Hen. V. p. 2.

strong place, the Earl of Warwick before St. Hilary's Gate, the Lord Cornwall before the Gate Cauchoise, and the Earl of Salisbury on the hill before the Martainville Gate, which was then a strong position. On the other side of the river Seine the Earl of Huntingdon and the Lord Kyme were encamped before the end of the bridge, with a strong company of archers and men-at-arms. A long while lasted that siege, and the city was severely battered within and without, for there were many large bombards which threw (*stones*) upon it by day and by night. But the citizens always clung to the hope of being succoured by the Duke of Burgundy, but although he led them to expect assistance, they received none. At that time was the king so ill that he was not conscious either of his own condition, or of the state of his kingdom; and the Duke of Burgundy, who controlled the king, could not assist them except by words, for although the people of Rouen very often besought his aid, the event shewed that he only dissimulated with a view to please them.

A. D. 1418.

Siege of Rouen.

At that time the Dauphin of Vienne, son of the King of France, laid siege to Tours, which the Duke of Burgundy then held, and when he had been three months before the city, it yielded on capitulation, and was replaced in the Dauphin's hands. The Abbey of St. Katherine above Rouen held out but a very short time, for being assailed by night, although not successfully, it surrendered shortly afterwards in consequence of the great destruction of the churches and the private houses in the suburbs and in the city. The English were then hard put to it for shelter, for all St. Sever, Richebourg, St. Gervais, and Martainville, and the quays for the galleys, were burnt and destroyed; even the galleys

The Dauphin besieges Tours.

St. Katharine's surrenders.

A. D. 1418. which floated in the waters of the Seine were burnt by the people of Rouen. All these measures were taken before the commencement of the siege.

Item. In order to straiten the siege, and to prevent the arrival (*of boats*) up or down the river, with succour for the city, the King of England caused a wooden bridge to be built across the Seine above Rouen, and before that bridge he placed, on the Rouen side, an iron chain, supported upon barrels across the river, so that no ship could pass higher up.

Item. The English erected several gibbets round about the city to frighten those within, and, in fact, they hung upon them several persons, whereupon the citizens hung an Englishman upon a gibbet which they erected in the ditch outside the town.[1]

Arrival of the Cardinal Des Ursins.

During the progress of the siege, the Pope sent the Cardinal Des Ursins to endeavour to make peace between the two kings of France and England. So the cardinal went to the camp of the King of England, accompanied by the ambassadors of France, to wit, Sir Almaury de Furat,[2] Sir Bertrand de Roérge, and several others, both clerks and laymen; but they returned without having concluded peace or any agreement. Six entire months lasted that siege, when the provisions of the inhabitants entirely failed, notwithstanding they had eaten horseflesh, and even dogs, rats, and other vermin; and so great was the distress and the famine, that more than thirty thousand persons died in that city before it would surrender. However, they were forced to do so, being constrained thereto by hunger, and not having received any relief. During the course of that siege a large ship arrived from England, which

[1] Compare Note [2], p. 128. [2] Chast. reads, Amauri Demac.

A.D. 1418.

came up the river Seine as far as Rouen, with provisions for the English camp; and the sailors knew the river so well, that the people lower down could not come near it.[1] The ship passed by Caudebec (*without molestation*), for an arrangement had been come to with that town, and the Rouenese ship that ought to have defended the passage had left.

Surrender of Domfront, 22nd Sept.

On the twenty-second day of September, one thousand four hundred and eighteen, during the continuance of the siege of Rouen, Domfront surrendered to the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Talbot, who then joined the King's army before Rouen. These noblemen then besieged Caudebec, which town capitulated after six days, the citizens agreeing to stand or fall with Rouen. To ensure this arrangement they gave hostages, who were taken to Rouen, and confined in (*the abbey of*) St. Katherine.

and of Cherbourg. November.

The garrison of Cherbourg surrendered the last week in November of the year aforesaid to the Duke of Gloucester, who had invested it from the beginning. After its surrender, the said duke, with the Earls of March and Suffolk, and many others who had assisted at the siege, went to the king's camp before Rouen, and the duke, with three thousand men, encamped before St. Hilary's Gate.

At that time the city of Rouen was in such dire distress, as you have heard, that all within the walls were at death's door, in consequence of which the citizens offered to treat with the English; and they met them the first time at the gate of the bridge, and afterwards where the king was, at the Carthusians, when the King of England caused two pavilions to be erected at St. Hilary's Gate, where

[1] Alluding to the shifting banks of sand near La Mailleraye. The English ship took, no doubt, the outer channel, and thus avoided the assailants.

A.D. 1418. the English and the citizens met; at which place they agreed upon the following terms; that those within the city should pay to the King of England three hundred thousand écus, each écu to be worth twenty-five sous[1] of good money, to pay which the citizens were sore distressed. By that agreement the city was surrendered to the King of England, who entered it in solemn procession by the Beauvoisine Gate, and proceeded to the great cathedral, and thence to the castle. This was on the nineteenth day of January, in the year of grace one thousand four hundred and eighteen (1419, N.S.).[2] By the same capitulation all the fortresses of the Pays de Caux, on both sides of the river Seine, twenty in number, were surrendered to the king. The Duke of Brittany also came, and extended his truce for another year. That year the English captured the char[3] of the Queen of France between Beaumont-sur-Oise and Beauvais, in which were a great many valuables, as dresses, liveries, other clothes and jewels.

Jan. 1418. (O.S.) Rouen capitulates.

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[1] MS. *B* reads, thirty-five sous Tournoise (3*s*. 4*d*. English, see p. 139).

[2] At this period the year commenced in France on Easter-day. For the particulars of the capitulation, the reader may consult Rymer, or "Rouen sous les Anglois" par Cheruel, Rouen.

[3] The char (Fr. charroy) was apparently a species of light waggon used generally for the conveyance of goods, but sometimes for persons, and is to be distinguished from the lighter charrette or whirlicote, for personal conveyance. Froissart refers to both in his account of Edward the Third's expedition to Scotland: "En celle cité (Durham) trouverent-ils leurs charrettes et tout leur charroy." (Chron. book i. ch. 19.) Ann, queen of Richard II., must have used a considerable number of carriages, as she paid an annual stipend of forty shillings to the purveyor "de noz chariettes." (Archæol. xx. 450.) We have seen that Henry presented the queen-dowager with horses for eleven chars (Preface, page xxx.), and it is stated that a char in which were four ladies of the retinue of Queen Margaret, daughter to Henry VII., was drawn by six horses. (Leland, Collect. iv., 267.)

A. D. 1418. (O. S.)

The Earl of Salisbury besieges Honfleur.

About that time, namely, on the fourth day of February, one thousand four hundred and eighteen, the Earl of Salisbury set out to lay siege to Honfleur, which was still in possession of the French, and the siege lasted until the twelfth day of March.

Henry at Rouen.

Shortly after the fall of Rouen the King of England received, at the castle of Rouen, the homage of the nobles and others of the Duchy of Normandy. The king then issued an ordinance appointing a new standard of measures of liquids after the scale of those of Arques, and fixing the ell to correspond with the ell of Paris. The Duke of Clarence, with a great number of men, marched to Vernon, and thence to Mantes, which towns quickly capitulated; and, following their example, all the small fortresses round about surrendered, as Rongny, Blaru, and others. The king remained at Rouen until Candlemas, because he had issued a proclamation, promising that all who would submit to him by that day should have their lands and their possessions;[1] at which feast he held open court, and wore the robes as Duke of Normandy.

He repairs to Evreux.

When this feast was over, the King of England departed from Rouen, on Friday the third of February, and went to Louviers, and thence to Evreux, which had already submitted to the Duke of Exeter at which place he tarried some time, because he had promised the Dauphin of Vienne, son of the King of France, to meet him at a spot mutually agreed upon, but as the dauphin made his excuses by the Archbishop of Rheims, the king marched to Vernon, where he sojourned until the feast of the Rogation was past, and on the morrow he set out and proceeded to Mantes. At the time of his quitting Evreux

[1] See Rot. Norm. 6 Hen. V. p. 2, dorso, m. 28.

A. D. 1418. he sent to the Earl of Warwick (*ordering him*) to lay siege to Roche-Guyon, which siege lasted until the sixth day of April, when the castle surrendered, and was given, with other lands in the Duchy of Normandy to Sir Guy le Bouteiller, according to the proclamation made at Rouen.

That same year the King of England fortified the bridge of Rouen against the citizens, and commenced the erection of a palace upon the Seine in the Maucifrote tower, near the (*quarter of the*) Jacobins, and there he transacted his affairs as long as he lived.[1]

Château Gaillard besieged. A. D. 1419.

That same year, one thousand four hundred and eighteen, the Friday after the feast of Our Lady in the month of March, the Duke of Exeter went to lay siege to Château-Gaillard, which siege lasted until the month of September, when it surrendered upon capitulation. On the very same day the Duke of Gloucester laid siege to Ivry, and after the siege had continued forty days the town was taken by assault, and the castle capitulated. After its surrender, the Duke with a strong company of English, overran the country of Chartres.

Ivry captured.

Whilst the king was at Mantes, he sent an embassy to the Duke of Burgundy, as the dauphin would not keep his promise, and by agreement between the king, the duke, and the Queen of France,

[1] The numerous writs and letters issued from Rouen, which are still preserved in the Tower of London, attest the extent of business daily transacted by Henry. "At the west end of the quay we saw an old building called Le Vieux Palais, said to be built by Henry V., King of England, flanked with five round towers, having a drawbridge, and over the gate the arms of France." (Ducarel, Tour through Normandy, 1754.) James II. resided here. It continued till the French Revolution. The right to build it was an express article in the capitulation, and Henry, much to his credit, consented to pay for the ground required for it. (Dawson Turner, Tour in Normandy.)

A.D. 1419.

July, The convention at Meulan.

a convention was held at Meulan-on-Seine, where were erected lists by both parties, and beyond the lists were their tents (*pitched,*) those of the English towards Mantes, those of the French towards Meulan. On the other side of the little stream of Viviers, between the lists, a tent was erected, where both parties met to consult. Several days during the month of July they assembled at this place for consultation, each party accompanied by a great many men-at-arms, the French from Pontoise, the English from Mantes. The queen was accompanied by Madame Katherine, the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of St. Pol and many other lords and ladies. Amongst the suite of the King of England, were his two brothers the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, his uncle the Duke of Exeter, the Archbishop of Canterbury and many other barons and prelates. It was proposed to establish peace by means of the marriage of the King of England with Madame Katherine of France; eight several times did they meet, but at last separated without coming to any understanding, the queen and the Duke of Burgundy departing for Paris, and the King of England for Mantes.

Pontoise captured.

Shortly afterwards, the truce having expired, the forces of the Captal de Beuff,[1] who had been created Count of Longueville, at Rouen, on the feast of the Nativity last past, assembled secretly near Pontoise, accompanied by the forces of the Lords of Duras and Lespare, Gascons, who scaled by night the walls of the town of Pontoise. They held the town until the arrival of the Duke of Clarence, who came in haste to their aid, when they secured the town,

[1] Or De Buch, brother to the Count de Foix. Captal, principal noble.

A.D. 1419. and subsequently took the castle, the citizens fleeing to Paris and abandoning the place to the English. From thence the Duke of Clarence marched with a strong force towards Paris. About the same time, on the middle day of August, Sir Philip de Liec[1] laid siege to St. Martin-le-gaillart. The same day he was attacked by Sir Louis de Blaquemont and many others of the Duke of Orleans' people, so that many English fell there. The French succeeded in raising the siege. Sir Philip fell back upon a church, where he saved himself, but at least seven hundred men, English and natives, died there.

Murder of the Duke of Burgundy.

Shortly after these events, and during the time that the King of England was at Mantes, it happened that the Dauphin of Vienne and the Duke of Burgundy had agreed upon a day for a convention for the pacification of the country at Monterau-fault-Yonne, where the dauphin then was. So it came to pass that on the twelfth day of August the Duke of Burgundy went to the dauphin at Montereau according to his promise. He found him on the bridge, as had been arranged for his greater safety. When the Duke of Burgundy met the dauphin on that bridge, he alighted and bent the knee respectfully, as he was bound to do before his lord. Whilst they were conversing together, the Viscount of Narbonne and Tanneguy du Châtel used insulting expressions to him, in order to have some excuse for putting him to death. The duke replied that the prince ought to deal with such people, and to preserve his honour, when, without more ado, they despatched him in the presence of the dauphin, as they had intended to do; they then seized upon as

[1] The renowned Sir Philip Leche, the King's treasurer.

A. D. 1419.

many of his people as they chose, who were (*however*) afterwards released.[1] The duke's body was interred, but afterwards was disinterred and carried to Dijon, where he was buried near his father, the Duke Philip, in the church of the Carthusians, which (*abbey*) he had founded in his lifetime.

Philip, Duke of Burgundy, contracts an alliance with Henry.

The Count of Charoloys, son of the Duke of Burgundy, was naturally much incensed at his father's murder, wherefore he sought to form an alliance with the English against the dauphin, to revenge his father's death. He accordingly sent ambassadors to the King of England at Mantes, to wit, the Bishop of Arras, Sir Andrew de la Roche, and many others, who concluded an agreement with the English. The Count of Charoloys, who had become Duke of Burgundy,[2] expressed his readiness to ride with the King of England against the dauphin, who had murdered his father, in whose presence, at least, he was killed whilst he was under his safe-conduct and protection. Then in order to perfect the treaty which has been commenced, they prolonged the truce, which continued for a considerable period. In this truce were included the inhabitants of Paris, who from day to day sought to treat with the English through the mediation of the Duke of Burgundy.

During this truce the King of England sent the

[1] The dauphin was but sixteen years of age at this period. The following sketch of him was drawn by his contemporaries:—"Loiz, Dauphin de Viennoiz et Duc de Guyenne . . . . de l'aage de vint ans ou environ, suffisamment grans et gros de corps, pesans et tardif et po agile, *voluntaire* et moult curieux à magnificence d'habitz . . . . et si avoit bon entendement tant en latin que en francoiz; mais il emploioit po, car sa condicion estoit d'emploier la nuict à veiller et po faire, et la jour à dormir." (Registre du Parlement de Paris cité par Michelet, t. iv. p. 327.) Respecting Jean sans Peur, see note [1], p. 136.

[2] Philippe le Bon.

A.D. 1419.

November, Meulan and Poissy captured.

Earl of Salisbury and many others to besiege Melun-on-Seine. The siege lasted till the sixth day of November, when it surrendered to the King of England by a treaty made with him in person. The king had gone thither to see the siege, and also to see his brother, the Duke of Gloucester. When this siege was ended, the king sent his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, to lay siege to the bridge of Poissy, which place only stood out seven days, and then surrendered to the duke. The king then visited the priory of Poissy, of which Madame Mary of France, daughter of the King of France, was then prioress. He was there received as King of France, on which account he made handsome presents to it, in cloth of gold[1] and golden coin, to the value of five hundred nobles. After the capture of Poissy, the Duke of Gloucester went to lay siege to St. Germain-en-laye, which surrendered to him at the end of three days, in which surrender was comprised the tower of Montjoye. When the citizens of Paris saw the English approach so near, and knew that they had lost the Duke of Burgundy, for he was dead, they sent ambassadors to the King of England to make a final treaty with him, and to place the city under his government.

Henry visits the Prioress of Poissy.

Henry at Mantes,

at Gisors,

Vauconvilliers,

The King of England kept the feast of All Saints that year at Mantes, and shortly afterwards departed thence and laid siege to the town and castle of Gisors. On his road thither Vauconvilliers was delivered up to him, which place had formerly made a

[1] Cloth of gold and arras were formerly much used for hanging apartments and bed furniture, as well as for the royal tents. From a document preserved in the State Paper Office (Bund. 1 Hen. V.), we learn that a bed of arras for hawking, with its counterpoint and carpet of cloth of gold, three curtains of green "tartaryn," three spare (bedside) carpets, and one foot ditto, cost 139*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*, a large sum at that period.

strong opposition to him, and the garrison fled by night. The king was a long time before Gisors, he took up his quarters at Trie, whilst his people encamped round about the castle and the town. Whilst the king was conducting that siege, the ambassadors from the Parisians and the Duke of Burgundy came to him again, for the truce between them was still in existence. At last the castle and city surrendered on capitulation on the eighteenth day of December. At the same time Château-Gaillart surrendered on capitulation to the Duke of Exeter. It had been besieged since the month of March.

A.D. 1419.

and at Trie.

Château-Gaillard surrenders.

With Gisors were given up all the castles about Gisors in the Velguesin,[1] both the Norman and the French, as Gournay, Chaumont, Naufle, d'Anjou, and the other lesser fortresses, so that he had conquered all the Duchy of Normandy, except Mont-St. Michel and the castle of Aumarle, which surrendered afterwards to the Earl of Warwick, to whom the king subsequently presented them, together with many other of the principal estates in the Duchy of Normandy. He gave several also to the English lords who had followed him, and the other smaller proprietaries to his people and to those who favoured him in the conquered country.[2] At that time the English and Burgundians went and rode before the town of Compiègne, where the Duke of Orleans' people were, who accordingly sallied out upon them, when the Burgundians fled, in consequence of which

The Velguesin (or Vexin) surrenders.

[1] The Velguesin, or Vexin, a part of the country of the Velocassi, Pagus Velcassinus.

[2] They are inserted in the Norman Rolls, but are too numerous to be particularized here. At this time Henry, having received complaints of the number of the wolves, "qui sont bestes ravissans et destruans de tous autres bestiaulx," offered a reward of 12*d*. for the head of each wolf, and 4*d*. for the head of each young wolf, "loupue," Mantes, Nov. 7, 7 Hen. V. (MS. Donat. 4602, art. 81.)

A.D. 1420. several of the English were killed and made prisoners, and the rest abandoned the place, which circumstance much disappointed the king.

Henry keeps his Christmas at Rouen.

Leaving Gisors, the King of England went to Rouen to keep his Christmas there the year aforesaid. There he held a great feast, and knighted, on that occasion, three of his relatives, namely, the Earl of Somerset and his two brothers.[1] He passed all his Christmas and the winter at Rouen, until Easter was over, daily transacting business with his council and the ambassadors of the city of Paris and of the Duke of Burgundy, who were frequently with him with a view to complete the treaty they had commenced; and at length it was agreed that the King of England should have in marriage Madame Katherine, daughter of the King of France, upon the following conditions:—that he (*Henry*) should have, by anticipation, the possession of the kingdom of France for himself, his heirs, and descendants; that the Duke of Burgundy should renounce the succession to the kingdom, if he should ever attain to it by lawful heirship; and that the King of France, who still remained afflicted by his malady, should be a party to this arrangement, but that he should retain for his life the title of King of France, and the queen her title likewise, and that they should retain their royal estate, but that the King of England should have the title and all the kingdom from the present time, but that after the death of Charles he should be King of France, as well as all his descendants, so that the kingdom should never on any

Is betrothed to the Princess Katherine.

[1] The parties here intended must be his cousin John Beaufort, the young Earl of Somerset, and his brother Edmund, Earl of Mortayne. Their elder brother Henry died in his minority—according to the Kirkstall Chron. (often erroneous) at the siege of Rouen: or the Chronicler may refer to the Dukes of Gloucester and Clarence.

A. D. 1420.

account return to the French line, but that the King of England should always possess the reversion, and during the lifetime of the King of France should be styled heir only, and not king, and that the dauphin and his heirs should be perpetually excluded from the succession.[1] In consequence of this arrangement, the citizens of Paris and the duke's party banished the Dauphin of Vienne from the city by public proclamation with sound of trumpet, saying that he was no longer King of France, and that the kingdom did not appertain to him.

The Duke of Burgundy does homage to Henry.

In like manner the Duke of Burgundy acknowledged the King of England as his lord for all the lands which he held in the kingdom of France, delivering up to him possession of the city of Paris, the Bois de Vincennes, the Bastille of St. Anthoine de Crael, the counties of Champagne, of Brie, and Picardy, and the towns of Senlis and Corbueil which were in his hands. The King of England appointed whom he pleased as captains in the Bastille and the Bois de Vincennes; but everywhere else the Duke of Burgundy appointed French or other captains and officers as he pleased in the places he delivered up, both within and without Paris. In this manner the king and the duke contracted a mutual alliance to take vengeance on the Dauphin of Vienne for the death of his father.

St. Riquier besieged.

About that time the people of the Duke of Orleans held the town of St. Riquier in Poitou, which was within the limits of the territory of the Duke of Burgundy, on which account he laid siege to it with the assistance of an English force which had been

[1] The meaning of our author, although hidden under a superabundance of words, may be gathered from the concluding part of the sentence.

A. D. 1420. sent to him. In consequence, Sir Jacques de Harcourt, who was then captain of Crotay, assembled the garrisons of Compiègne and of the district of Valois, who sided with the Duke of Orleans, with a view to raise the siege. And when the Duke of Burgundy saw them approach, he marched to give them battle beyond the river Seine, encountering them in a village called Socainville (or Sainville), where the duke won his spurs, but he had the worst of it, and many of his men were killed. When, however, Sir John of Luxembourg came up, he collected the scattered forces and led them off, and there were many killed and taken prisoners on both sides. Thus was the siege raised, and no other attempt was made that season. After the King of England had concluded that treaty, and kept Easter at Rouen, he departed and went to Pontoise, and thence to Troyes and to Champagne, without entering Paris, to carry out its stipulations and to secure what was promised. He there found the King and Queen of France, their daughter Madame Katherine of France, and the Duke of Burgundy, who then ratified and confirmed every article of the treaty which had been agreed upon by their ambassadors, according to the stipulations made between the two kings and the Duke of Burgundy, with the consent of the citizens of Paris, in such manner as every body knows.

Henry at Troyes.

His marriage.

In the year one thousand four hundred and twenty, Henry, King of England, espoused at Troyes Madame Katherine of France, according to the treaty made with him by the Duke of Burgundy and the citizens of Paris. They were married by the Bishop of Troyes in the great church of St. Peter, in the presence of her mother, the Queen of France, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Clar-

ence, and many other English nobles. The marriage was there celebrated, and all the engagements before entered into completed, notwithstanding the lamentable state in which the King of France was, which was much to be deplored, but which was from the hand of God; and a better arrangement, both for himself and his kingdom, could not have been desired.

A. D. 1420.

After the celebration of the festival, the Kings and Queens of France and England and the Duke of Burgundy departed with a great retinue of men-at-arms, and went before Montereau, the ladies passing on to Bray-sur-Seine, whilst the King of England and the Duke of Clarence and many other English lords besieged Montereau. The garrison were summoned to surrender to the King of France, in whose government it was; but they refused to do so, when the King of England besieged the town and took it by assault, and hung eighteen of the garrison. Nevertheless, the garrison of the castle did not then surrender, although eventually they were constrained to do so on the eighteenth day of May of that year.

He besieges Montereau.

Quitting Montereau the forces went to lay siege to the town and castle of Melun,[1] the King (*encamping*) on one side of the town towards the desert country, and the Duke of Burgundy with all his people on the other side. They were accompanied by a duke from the parts of Germany called the Red Duke, who had come thither as he was bound by his allegiance.[2] The King of France was conducted to Corbeuil, and the ladies with him, to await the issue

Siege of Melun.

[1] They took Sens and Moret on their march thither. (The Berry Herald, L'Histoire Memorable des Grands Troubles de France sous Charles VI. et VII. Nevers, 1594.)

[2] See note, p. 144. The Berry Herald erroneously calls him the Duke Roger of Bavaria.

A.D 1420. of that siege. It proved of long duration; for from that time, which was the beginning of the month of June, until the completion of six months, the garrison, who held it for the dauphin, would never surrender nor listen to any proposal for a treaty. The King of England was joined by his brother the Duke of Bedford, who had lately arrived from England, bringing with him a reinforcement of English (*troops*), many of whom were carried off by the (*prevailing*) mortality.[1] The garrison defended themselves most bravely, and there were many skirmishes on both sides; but at length, on account of the great dearth and famine in the town, they were obliged to surrender at will to the King of England.

Henry at Paris.

From Melun the King of England returned to Corbeuil, where the King of France and the Queens of France and England were, and from Corbeuil they all proceeded together to Paris, (*viz.*) the two kings and queens, the Dukes of Burgundy, Clarence, and Bedford, with the other lords in their suite. At that city the King of France was received as King of France, the King of England as King of England and heir of France, and the queens in like manner. Then, in order to carry out the agreement which had been made, in the first place the city of Paris and all such fortresses belonging to the crown of France which obeyed the Duke of Burgundy were delivered over to the King of England, only (*it was*

[1] Compare note, p. 158. The mortality was in part caused by the extraordinary heat of the season, and the consequent scarcity of provisions. Fruit was so dear that four apples were sold for one blanc, and two pears for six blancs, a "petit fromage" (now sold for three sous) for thirty sous, the pound of butter, twenty-eight blancs, and the pint of wine for four sous. (Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris,) To find the relative value, as compared with the present day, these amounts should be multiplied by twelve or fifteen.

agreed) that the King of England should take possession of the Bois de Vincennes and the Bastille St. Antoine,[1] placing there such captains as he thought fit, but that the château of the Louvre should be under the guard of the Duke of Burgundy, subject always to the King of England as has before been declared. He (*Henry*) confined in different prisons those who had held the town and castle of Melun against him, for he had caused them to be brought with him to Paris, of whom the principal was Sir William de Barbasan, captain of Melun,[2] whom he placed in the Bastille; other prisoners the king took to England, but he put none to death. The King of England kept that Christmas at Paris in the palace "des Tournelles,"[3] where also the ladies were who had arrived from England to attend upon the queen, viz. the Duchesses of Clarence and York, the Countess of March, the Earl Marshal's lady, and many other noble English ladies. The King and the Queen of France were then residing at the palace of St. Pol, and the Duke of Burgundy

A. D. 1420.

[1] Elmham states that the Duke of Burgundy had possession of the Bastille, and that Henry, desirous of obtaining it, employed the following discreditable *ruse* for its capture. He sent one of his knights with a competent force, concealed in groups of three and four, in the neighbourhood of the castle. The knight, accompanied by three men-at-arms, demanded an interview with the captain of the Bastille, stating, that he had a secret to communicate to him from the King of England. The gates being opened, and the drawbridge let down, the captain advanced to the interview. After a long colloquy, when they prepared to take leave, each, as was formerly the custom, facetiously contended which of them should most slowly leave the other. By degrees the English knight entered the porch, his three men following him, as well as others who lay in ambush, and seized the place, heedless of the indignant and just reproaches of the captain.

[2] The Sire de Barbazan was subsequently imprisoned by Henry in the Château-Gaillard, whence he was released upon the recapture of that fortress by the French in 1430.

[3] See note, p. 234.

A. D. 1420. at the palace d'Artoys. The citizens of Paris made them handsome presents.[1] At that Christmas the ordinances for the city of Paris and for the country were made by the representatives[2] of England and of France who were there. These ordinances regarded the officers for the towns and the money which was newly coined,—at the mint of Paris for the King of France, and at the mint in Normandy for the King of England, who styled himself heir of France, as you have before heard; and around the face of these coins of the King of England were these words, HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE, HERES FRANCIE.[3]

A new coinage.

These things having been accomplished, and the oaths of the citizens of Paris having been taken, there was given to the King and the Queen of France, not only their former accustomed power, but a still more extended sway. The King of England then returned to Rouen, taking his queen with him, who was accompanied by the ladies of England, and there they kept the feast of The Kings.[4] Thus was the queen received with great

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[1] It appears to have been an established custom for the great towns and cities to make presents to the sovereign during his progress. See the list of Queen Isabel's jewels in the Chron. de Ric. II., where many such presents aredescribed.

[2] I have ventured to translate the word consulz (conseulx), representatives, and for this reason, that we read shortly afterwards that the "conseulx," at the Parliament at Rouen, fixed the taxes and subsidies, and we are distinctly informed that the Three Estates of Normandy, "cleri, nobiles, et cives," were summoned to Parliament. (Fœdera, vol. x. 101.)

[3] Henry's brief to the Chancellor of the Exchequer commands, "quod in stilo sigilli vice 'Franciæ' hæc verba, 'hæres regni Franciæ' insculpi faciat." Anno 8 Hen. V. (Cott. MS. Cleop. A xvi. f. 49, b.) From Pontoise on the 6th May, 1420, Henry styled himself, "Henricus D. G. Rex Ang. Hæres et Regens Regni Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ." (Fœdera, ix. 907)

[4] Twelfth-night.

honour at the castle of Rouen, where the feast was magnificent and open (*to all*). When this feast was over the King of England held a great parliament of the members of the three estates of the Duchy of Normandy and of the conquered country, and the representatives fixed taxes and subsidies for the expenses of the war, and ordered new silver coins to be made, but they are not of any perfection. Thus this money ordered at Rouen was circulated, but it had so little value that the livre (*franc*) tournois was worth no more than four sous two deniers at the price of the mark of silver.[1] At this parliament, held in the Castle hall, the Earl of Salisbury did homage to him for the county of Perche, and Sir Arthur of Britanny for the county of Ivry, which had been lately given to him. After this the King of England set out from Rouen, accompanied by his Queen, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of March, the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Warwick, and many others, and went to Amiens, and from Amiens to Calais, whence they passed over to England and proceeded to London, where they were honourably received. In order to guard Normandy and France, which he had lately conquered, the King of England had left at Rouen his brother, the Duke of Clarence, supported by the Earls of Huntingdon, Somerset, his brother,[2] Suffolk,

A.D. 1420.

January, 1420 (O.S.) Henry holds a Parliament at Rouen.

He conducts his Queen to England.

[1] The pieces ordered to be coined at Rouen were, "moutons d'or, gros, demi-gros, and quarts-de-gros," in silver, "doubles," in gold, and "mainçois et petits deniers." (Fœdera, vol. ix. Gisors, 25th Sept.) The mançois was a denier of depreciated value current in Mayne. On the gros were three fleur-de-lis, surmounted by a crown, and supported by two "leopards." (Idem, p. 860.) The counters of Henry's receipt at Harfleur, wrote to him in 1423, to say, that they had 30,000*l*. in gold coined, and 2000*l*. in silver, besides wedges of silver near half a ton, which they dared not send till they had his directions as to the mode of conveyance, ending, "and Criste, for his mercy, save ȝow, kepe ȝow, and spede ȝow." (MS. Donat. 4602, art. 114.)

[2] The father and namesake of John Holand, Earl of Hunting-

A.D. 1420. and Salisbury, the Lord Roos, Sir John Grey,[1] Lord Kyme, and many others.

The Duke of Clarence takes the field.

In the year one thousand four hundred and twenty, immediately after the close of the King's parliament, the Duke of Clarence took the field with his troops and rode towards Mayne, which (*province*) pertained to the King of Sicily. There he seized the fortresses, and exacted ransoms from the people, and at length entered Anjou,[2] the Saturday which was the vigil of Easter, near to a castle called Baugie, into which had been thrown a large company of people attached to the party of the Dauphin of France. A great number of Scotch, who were allies of the Dauphin, had also arrived there. When the Duke of Clarence heard of their arrival, he crossed a river which was between them, and went to attack them, without any preparation, and without waiting for his people. And so, as fortune would have it, the Earl of Buchan, a Scotchman, gained the day, defeating the English, leaving dead on the field the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Kyme, the Lord Roos, Sir John Grey, and many others, and taking prisoners the Earls of Huntingdon, and his brother Somerset, the Lord Fitzwalter, and many others.[3] When, after this defeat, the bodies of the slain, that is to say, of the Duke of Clarence and the other lords, were carried into England, the bad news reached the King, whereupon he hastily collected new forces and returned to France, landing at Calais, with twelve thousand men. On

His death at Beaugé.

Henry returns to France. June 1421.

don, married Elizabeth Lancaster, Henry's aunt; the young Earl of Somerset was Henry's cousin. He did not attain his majority till the 3rd Hen. VI. Singularly enough, this action took place near the town of Beaufort, whence his family derived their name.

[1] The Earl of Tancarville.

[2] Anjou likewise pertained to the King of Sicily.

[3] See Appendix II., and refer to the Latin Chronicle.

his route, he captured the two castles of Rheims in Beauvoisin, and crossed the river Seine at the bridge of Mantes. From thence he went to lay siege to Dreux, which was held by the people of the Dauphin's party, who had done much mischief to the neighbouring country. The town was besieged in June, and surrendered in July, the King of England lying whilst the siege lasted at Morunval. In this castle the Lord de Tillers was found, who had delivered up the fortress to the Dauphin or to his people, contrary to his oath to the King of England, for which cause he was hung.

A. D. 1421. July.

He captures Dreux,

As the siege of Dreux drew to an end, the King of England received intelligence that the Dauphin would give him battle, wherefore, on the fifth day of August in the year fourteen hundred and twenty, he set out for Chartres, making his ordonnances more stringent than heretofore; and from Chartres he passed the country of Beaussé until he came to Boisgency-upon-Loire, to learn whether the Dauphin was disposed to give him battle, for he could not approach him nearer on account of the river Loire, which he could not pass without damage. On his arrival the people of the Dauphin abandoned the town of Boisgency, but they kept the bridge so well that not an Englishman could enter, and the English remained there but two days because they were in need of provisions. Departing thence the King of England marched straight to Orleans, and on his route took by assault a castle called Rouge-mont, where he hung several of those who held it.[1] From thence he went before Orleans where he lay three days, but he was obliged

August.

and marches to Beaugency-sur-Loire,

to Orleans,

[1] It was commanded by the Marquis du Quaret, a Genoese, and gave its name to an English peer;—

"Duke Sommersette in frunt,
Gret Exetter and Roos,
And Greye of Rugémont."
(Old Ballad. Battle of Hexham).

A. D. 1421. to quit on account of the scarcity of provisions for his army, for, by reason of that scarcity, he lost, on that march, many of his people, horses, baggage, and beasts of burthen.[1] So when he saw that he should not be met in the field, he marched by the waste country, in order to procure provisions, till he came as far as Vigny-upon-Yonne, where he refreshed himself and his army. And when he had remained there a while, he departed for Paris where he met with an honourable reception, and was nobly fêted, in company with the King of France, who was in possession (*of the capital*); he afterwards went to the Bois-de-Vincennes, the King and Queen of France remaining at Paris in the palace of St. Paul.

and to Paris.

Jan. 1421 (O. S.) Henry besieges Meaux.

In the year fourteen hundred and twenty-one the King of England departed from Paris, and went, in the month of October, to lay siege to Meaux in Brie. The King (*at first*) lodged at a castle called Raytel, afterwards he came nearer and lodged in the Abbey of St. Pharoah;[2] the Duke of Exeter, at the Abbey de Chage, the Earl of March at the Cordeliers, the Earl of Warwick at the point towards the market of Meaux, and their people round about. A very long while they remained there and several times assaulted the city, so that the garrison quitted it and took refuge within the market, but that was so battered by cannons, and the walls so commanded by engines that they were obliged to surrender at discretion, which they did on the fifth of June fourteen hundred and twenty-two. Amongst the garrison was found the bastard of Vaurus, one of

Its capture, June 1422.

[1] The Berry Herald places Henry's loss, on his return from Rougemont and Villeneuve-le-roi, at 4000 men.

[2] Henry's writs were dated from "St. Pharon prope Meaulx." The Norman Rolls present the materials for a perfect itinerary of the King.

A.D. 1422.

their captains, whose hand the king caused to be cut off, and his body to be hung to a high tree outside the city, to which (*tree*) he had hung many innocent persons;[1] all the rest of the garrison were carried prisoners to France and to England; and the King of England found within the city much booty.

Birth of Prince Henry.

In the year of grace fourteen hundred and twenty-one, after these events, there was born in England a son and heir, named Henry, to the King of England, and Madame Katharine of France, his wife, on St. Nicholas' day, the sixteenth of December, the tidings of which event were brought to the king as he was besieging Meaux, which city held out a long time. Upon its surrender all the towns and fortresses of the country were delivered up with it, to wit, Compiègne, Crespis en Valois, and many others, so that there were no places in that country which held out against him excepting Montaguillon, which was held by the party of the Dauphin. When the siege was over the king left for Corbeuil, to order certain affairs, at which place, as God ordered it, he was attacked by a serious illness which afflicted him a long time. He was carried to the Bois-de-Vincennes, where he was ill about fifteen days, and then, as God ordained, he passed from this world to the other. His body, arrayed in his royal robes, was carried to Nôtre Dame at Paris, where a solemn service was performed for him, it was then carried to Rouen, where a solemn service for him was performed in the cathedral church of Nôtre Dame, thence it was transported to England and placed in a sepulchre at Westminster Abbey with his predecessors.

The King's sickness, and death.

[1] Barante particularizes the cruelties committed by this wretch. (Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne.)

A. D. 1422.

Death of Charles VI. of France.

Shortly after the King of England had ended his days, a slow fever seized the King of France at the Bois-de-Vincennes, which attacked him so sharply that he could not sustain even three paroxysms, for at the third he succumbed. Thus ended the days of King Charles the Sixth on the fourth of October, fourteen hundred and twenty-two, in the forty-third year of his reign. He was carried to Nôtre Dame at Paris, where a grand service was performed for him, and he was then carried to St. Denys, where he was interred with every honour. The Parisians eminently performed their duty in honour of the king and the kingdom, but not one of the princes of royal race followed him to the tomb, excepting only the Duke of Bedford, an Englishman, which was to be regretted, considering his noble birth and lineage.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

Muster-Roll of the Army, Anno 1417, *taken at the end of July, just before Henry's Second Expedition to Normandy, preserved in the Chapter-House, Westminster.*

Monstracio hominum ad arma, armigerorum, sagittarorum capta apud . . . . . . coram Joh̄e Ecton Chƚr ⁊ Wiƚƚo T. . . . . . . (*illegible*).

DUX GLOUCEST'R.

	Launces.	Arch.
Monſ Reignald Cobham ⁊ others. . .	45	114
Monſ William Beauchamp ⁊ others.[1] .	45	152

Ten others not classed, probably hobilers or billmen.

FITZHUGH.

Henry Sire Fitzhugh,		
Vadlettz—summa lxvi armatorum. .	66	
Sagittarorum.		199

HARYNGTON.

Jacobus Haryngton Chivaler ⁊ xx homines ad arma.	21	
Sagittarorum.		61
Jacobus Blount.	1	3

[1] In the original the name of each man-at-arms and archer is given in full, but I have only inserted the names of the knights and nobles.

BERGEVENNY.

	Launces.	Arch.
Ricᵭdus Dñs de Bergevenny.[1] . . .	48	116
De hospicio Dñi Vale. *.		43

These are not specified as archers, and were possibly only billmen: the usual proportion of archers to men-at-arms was as three to one.

SIRE JOHN BLOUNT.

Messire John Blount.
„ Baudewine Frevile.
„ Robᵗ. Harlyrett.
„ John Knyvet.
„ Hugh Ffastolff.
⁊ homines ad arma, summa . 62 178

Monstracio hoīm ad arma, armatorꝝ et sagittarorꝝ capta apud Knouldon-hetł coram Rob̄to Urswyk Chivaler ⁊ Thoma Staunton, armigero.

COMES MARCHIE.

Edmundus comes Marchie.
Thomas Botiller de Ormond, Chłr.
Walt͛us Lucy, Chivaler.
Wiłłs Tempest, Chivaler.
Joh̄es Paunssot, Chivaler.
Thomas Genney, Chivaler.
Edmundus de la Pole, Chivaler.
Laurencius Berkeley, Chivaler. (summa) 93 302

(One of the men-at-arms is designated as the Pennoner.)

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[1] Amongst Lord Bergevenny's men-at-arms Sir Johan Borowey, chaplain, is specified.

THOMAS, COMES SARUM.

	Launces.	Arch.
Thomas, Comes Sarum.		
Ricũs Archis, Cħr.		
Joħes Daubriscourt, Cħr.		
Joħes Calff, Cħr. (summa)	94	292
Brianus de Stapilton, Cħr.	5	18
Hugo Luterell, Cħr. . . . . }	20	
Galfrũs Luterell, Cħr. . . . . }		
Archiers a chival.		42
„ a pée.		25

Monstracio hoĩm ad arma, armatorꝝ et sagittarorꝝ capta apud Wallopeforth coram Gerardo Fflore ⁊ Nicħo Moungomery, Chivaler.

COMES WARR°.

Ricũs, Comes Warr.		
Radũs de Graidstoke, miles.		
Joħes Beauchamp, miles.		
Wiłł°. Lichefeld, miles. (summa) . .	100	295

COMES SUFF'.

Wiłł°. Comes Suffꝭ.		
Joħes de Clifton, miles.		
Thomas Charles, miles.		
Thomas Brampton, miles.		
Joħes Hevenyngham, miles.		
Roƀtus de Clifton, miles. (summa) .	31	90

SYRE HARYNGTON.

Joħes, Dñs de Haryngton.		
Wiłłs de Haryngton, miles.		
Roƀtus de Haryngton, miles. (summa) .	31	86

SIRE WYLUGHBY.

	Launces.	Arch.
Robtus Dns de Wylughby.		
Willo Frank, miles.	41	120
Regus Ffynys (Fiennes), miles. . . .	10	40
Radus Shirley, miles.	8	23
Brianus Stapulton.	20	49
Johes Wyllington.	2	
Do valetti. . . .		6
Wills Haryngton, miles. . . .	10	30
Wills Tirwhite.	1	3
Phus Leche, miles.[1]	10	161

Monstracio hoim ad arma, armatorum & sagittarorum capta apud le heth[2] in Lymyngton & Beaulieu cora Henr° de Hoghton & Rado Bostok, Chr.

DOMINUS DE GREY DE CODNORE.

Johes Grey, Chr.		
Henr° Purpoint, Chr.		
Robtus Moton, Chr.		
Edwardus Ffoliambe, Chr. (summa) .	51	174

∮ WALTRUS HUNGERFORD, CHIVALER.

∮ Waltrus Hungerford, Chr.		
Tho^s. Rumsey, Chr.		
Johes Trebell, Chr.		
Johes Ffrempton, Chr. (summa) . .	61	185
∮ Edwardus Courtenay, Chivaler. . .	30	91

and 38 not designated.

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[1] Amongst the names of the archers appears Joh'es of the Close, Joh'es of the Wood, &c.

[2] Heth, now Hythe, on the Southampton river; a quay by the river or sea-side, witness Queenhithe, Lambheth, &c. Hythe in Kent was formerly spelt Heth. See Harris's Hist. of Kent.

Monstracio hoı̃m ad arma, armatorꝝ ꝛ sagittarorꝝ capta apud Techebourne-Doune coram Joħe Popham, Chivaler, ꝛ Joħe Kyngesley, armigero.

CLIFFORD.

	Launces.	Arch.
Dominus de Clifford.		
Petrus Tempest, Cħr.		
Cristoforus de Moresby, Cħr.		
Joħes de Pykeryng, armiger. (summa)	50	150

NEVYLL.

Joħes de Nevyll, Chivaler.		
Xr̃oforus de Curwen, Cħr. (summa) .	44	113

∮ STAFFORD.

Hugo de Stafford, Dñs de Bourgchier. .	30	90

∮ LOVELL.

Dominus de Lovell.	6	18

∮ WILL'o. BOURGCHIER.

Wiłłs Bourgchier, Chivaler.		
Ricũs Waldgrave, Cħr. (summa) . .	40	
Valecti		124
Wiłłs Elmynden, Chiualer. . . .	10	31

HARTONKE.

Hartonke Voncluix, Cħr. (K. G.) . .	4	9
ꝛ crossebowes.		2
Henr°. Brounflete, armig°. . . .	12	36
Brounflete Leyliun.	12	47

SWYNBORNE.

Wiłłs Swynborne, armig°. . . .	5	14

ROKEBY.

	Launces.	Arch.
Thomas de Rokeby, Chr.	3	9
Here John.[1]		3
" ⁊ crossebowes.		3

LEGH.

Wills de Legh.	3	9
⁊ (probably crossbowes). . .		2

Monstracio hoim ad arma, armatorum ⁊ sagittarorum capta apud le thre mynnes[2] coram Dns de Camoys ⁊ Nicho Maudyt serviente ad arma.

HUNTYNGDON.

Johes, Comes Huntyngdon. . . .	40	140

COMES MARESCALLUS.

Johes, Comes Marescallus.
Edmundus Redesham.
Brianus Harfyk.
Henr°. de Ferrers, Chr.
Alanus Buxhill, Chr.
Walterus Goldyngham, Chr.

Parcinallus Lyndelay, Chr. (summa) .	102	284

SER PHELIPP'.

Willms Phelipp, Chivaler. . . .	20	63

THORP.

Edmundus Thorp, Chivaler. . . .	10	33

PORTERE.

Mons Willm Portere.	40	120

[1] Here John was subsequently knighted and appointed Captain of Pont-Odon.

[2] Query. Sea-marks. Myne, A.S. a notice, warning.

Monstracio hom ad arma armatorų ꝛ sagittorų capta apud Portesdoune coram Thoma Erpyngham, Petro Kirkesby, Johe Pelham, ꝛ Johe Clipsham.

GRAY.

	Launces.	Arch.
Johes Grey, Chivaler.	39	127

GILBTUS UMFRAVILLE, CHIVALER.

Gilbtus Umfraville, Chivaler.
Thomas Kyryell, Chr.
Willmus Rythere, Chr.
Willmus Breton, Chr.
Johes Holbeche, Chr.

ꝛ 49 armigeri. (summa)	54	125
Waltus Sandes, Chivaler	3	10
Johes Pilkyngton, Chivaler.	2	6
Johes Holand, Chivaler.	2	6
Johes Piryan.	2	6
Wm. Mounteney, armiger.	1	4
Wm. Granson, Chivaler.	2	6
Johes Yerde, armiger.	1	3
Ricus Ffitz James.	1	3
Johes Seintlowe, armiger.	1	3
Ricus Cade.	1	2

CORNEWAYLLE.

Johes Cornewaill, Chivaler.

Johes Harpeden, Chr. (summa)	53	121

SIRE DE MAUTRAVERS.

Johes de Arundell, Dns de Mautravers.
Thomas Arundell.

Thomas Stowell, Chr. (summa)	40	121

COMES NORTHUMB'R.

	Launces.	Arch.
Monſ Joħn Hotham, Chivaler.[1] (summa)	87	286

TIPTOT.

Joħes Tiptot, Cħr.		
Thomas Haukwode, Cħr. (summa) .	30	10

HASTYNGES.

Ricūs Hastynges, Cħr.	8	24

GRESLEY.

Joħes Gresley, Cħr.	3	8

RADCLYF.

Joħes Radclyf, Chivaler. . . .	20	60

ROCHEFORT.

Radūs Rochefort, Chivaler. . . .	20	60
and 16 not described.		

GRAA.

Joħes Graa, Chivaler.	2	6
Sagittarii outre le nombre. . . .		6

ARUNDELL.

Ricūs Arundell, Chivaler. . . .	20	60
Sagittarii outre le nombre. . . .		8

UFFLETE.

Gerardus Ufflete, Chivaler. . . .	20	60
Sagittarii outre le nombre. . . .		7

ROBESSART.

Joħes Robessart, armiger. . . .	1	3

---

[1] Against the name of one of the men-at-arms is written 'infirmus.'

SAGITTARII CESTR'.

	Launces.	Arch.
Hundr̃m de Macclesfeld. . . .		98
,, de Wici Malbi. . . .		41
,, de Norwich.		63
,, de Buclowe.		106
,, de Braxton		32
,, de Wexhall		18
,, de Edesbury		47
Wills Mascy de Codyngton, ⁊ triginta ⁊ tres ꝑsons sagittar° de Hundre° de Broxon in Com^r Cestr° non adduc° ꝑ Willm Troutebek Camar° Cestr° ⁊ retent° ꝑ ann̄ integrū. . .		34

DN'S DE ROOS.

	Launces.	Arch.
John de Roos, Seignur de Hamelak.		
Mons Robt Woodford, Chivaler (summa)	9	35
Mons Raynold West, Chivaler . .	20	65
John Robessart, Chivaler. . . .	13	33
Summa .	1792	5911
Not described		64

APPENDIX II.

Historical Collec[n] of Rafe Broke, York Herald in 1604, Harl. MS. 782, f. 49.

The Bataill of Baugy (Beaugé, in Anjou), in the yere of Christe M.CCCCXXI., in France in the tyme of King Henry the Vth., where was slayne and taken prisoners theis noblemen, who wer betrayed by on Andreu Lambert a doubell traiter.

MORTTEZ.

The Duke of Bedford ⁊ Clarens (Tho[s]. Plantagenet).
Therle Humfreyvill.
Therle of Tankervel, ꝭ John Gray.
The Lord Roos.
Sir Rob[t]. Veer.
Sir W[m]. Roos.
Sir John Lomley.
Sir Henry Godart.
Sir Rob[t]. Brent.
Sir John Knyvet.
Sir Robert Boutevillayn.[1]
Sir James Ryder.
Sir John Pudsay.
Sir Tho[s]. Marney.

PRESONNERS.

Therle of Huntington.
Therle of Somerset.
Therle of Perche.[2]

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[1] A Norman, see Hardy's Norman Rolls.

[2] Edmund Beaufort, Earl of Mortayne and Perche.

Sir de Fitzwater.
Sir de Barkeley.
Sir de Nevill Ranold.
Sir Henry Inglous.[1]
Sir W^m^. Bowes.
Sir W^m^. Langton.
Sir W^m^. Wolfe.
Sir Edmond Heron.
Sir R^d^. Bennet.
Sir W^m^. Crafford.
Sir Thomas Bourgh.
Sir W^m^. Lausac.
R^d^. Flecher } Esquiers.
R^d^. Waller }

In the yere 1417 A°. Dn^i^., King Henry the V^th^. conquered theis Townes in Normandey ⁊ in France, and made the noblemen capetaynes of the same townes and castelles.

At Touque, Capetayn Sir John Kykelley.

At Caen, Capt^n^. Sir Gilbert Humfreyvill, and bailly Sir John Popham.

At Thorigny, the Sir John Popham, lord of the same by gifte of the King.

At Creuly, Sir Hertenke Van Cloup, K. G.

At Bayeus, Sire de Mautrevas[2] and de Aroundell.

At Argenteny, S^r^. Gray de Codnore.

At Chamboy (?), S^r^. de Fitzhugh.

At Vernueill in Perche, Sir John Nevill.

At Alençon, the Duc of Gloucester; his lieut^t^, Sir Rolland Lyntall.

At Essay, Sir W^m^. Hodelston, Bailly d'Alençon.

---

[1] Or Englos, (Hardy's Nor. Rolls, p. 359). MS. Cott. Titus, C. i. Inglose.

[2] John of Arundel, Lord Mantrevers.

At Faloise, Sir de Fitzhugh.
At Toury, Sir Loys Robessart.
At Conde sur Noireane, Sir John Popham.
At the Citie de Lisieux, in the Contré of Anjoey, Sir John Kykeley.
At Fangarnon, John St. Albones.
At Courtonne, John Aubyn.
At Crenecueux, Sir Thos. Kyrkeby.
At Bernay, Wm. Howton.
At Auvilliers, Robt. Horneby.
At Carenten, in the Contrey of Constentyn, Sr. de Bowkas (? Brocas).
At Pontdoue, Davy Howell, Esq.
At Saintlo, (St. Lo) Sr. Reynold West.
At La Haye-du-pais, (Puits) Sir John Assheton, Bailly de Constentyn.
At Valongnes, Sir Thos. Brough.
At Cheerebourg, Sr. Grey de Codnore, et apres son decez, Sir Walter Hungerford.
At Constances, Sr. de Bourgaveny.
At Saint Saveure-le-viconte, Sr. John Robesard.
At Avranches, Thos. Brugh.
At Pontorson, Sr. Robt. Gargrave (Gargrove).
At Vire, Le ꞩ dę Matravas ⁊ Arondell.
At Saint Jame de Beuron, (Beverton) Le dit ꞩ de Matrevas et de Arondell.
At Hambuye, and at Briguenell (Brignolles), Le Conte de Suffolk, ꞩ de dits lieus.
At Dampfront, Hugh Stafford, ꞩr. de Bowschr.
At Loviers, Monꞩr. le Duc de Clarence, son Lieutn. Sir John Godard.
At Evreux, Sir Gilbert Halsall, Kt.
At Pont de Larche, Le Duc de Clarens.
At the Citie and Castell of Rouen, the Duc Dexcester, et son Lieutt. Monsꞩ. de Willoughby, et Sir John Kykelley, baylli en dit lieue.

At Caudebek, Sir Loys de Robersart.
At Tancarvill, Sir John Gray, Conte du dit lieu per done du Roy.
At Harefleue, Le dit Sr. John Gray.
At Monstiervillier, Clement Guerton, Esq.
At Belencombre, Sir Thos. Rameston.
At Dieppe, Lord Guyllem Bowser (Bouchier), Contie de Eu.
At Eu, Le dit Mon$. le Contie de dit lieu.
At Longuevill, Le Captall Buch (or de Beuff, see p. 245), Conte de dit lieu.
At Arques, Sir James Fynnes, Bailli de Caux.
At Aubmarle, Mon$. de Warwick, qui fist son Lieut. Sir Guyllem Montford.
At Neuchastell, Sir Phillip Leche.
At Monçeaux, le dit Sir Phillip Leche.
At Tournay, Sir Gilbert Humfreville, Conte de Kyme.
At Baquevill, the Lord Roos, per don du Roy.
At Gallard, le dit $. de Roos.
At Esterpaigny, (Etrépaigny) Rd. Abraham, Esq.
At Dangu, (Dangeul) Rd. Wyrdevil.
At Saint Cler-sur-Octte,[1] Sir Guilliam Basset.
At Neaufle, Le Conte de Worcester.
At Gisors, Le dict Counte de Worcester.
At Bouconvilliers,[2] John Bourgh, Esq.
At Mante, Le Conte de Marche.
At Vernon, Sir Wm. Porter.
At La Riche-(Roche) Guyon, Sir Guy Boutiller.
At Meulent, Sir Thos. Rameston, et puys apres, Sir John Fastolfe.
At Aynzy-la-chance, the Duc of Gloucester; apres, Arthur de Bretaigne, conte, per don du Roy.
At Danville, Sr. Xpõfer Corwen.

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[1] Ste Claire-sur-Epte. [2] Vauconvilliers, see p. 181.

At Homfleu (Honfleur), Le Conte de Sallisbury, apres lui le Duc de Clarens, ꝑ don, son Lieutenant Robert Inkebarow, Esquier.

At Conches, Sr. Richard Erbury.

At Pontoise, the Duc of Clarens, et son Lieutenant Sr. Ranold ꝭr. de Cromwell.

At the Towen and Castell of Dreux, the Kinge of Scottes, and after him the Conte of Worcester, Capetayn.

At Meaulx in Brie, Sr. Oliver Mayney (Manney).

At the Towne and Castell of Cravant, en la Conté Dauxcerux (? d'Auxerre), le Conte de Sallisbury.

Sir John Fastolf fut Comes Lieutenant pour le Roy et ledit ꝭr le Regent en Normandie, et les bailliaigis de Rouen, Evreux, Alençon et du pais denveron la Revere de Seyne, et avec le gouvernment des pais d'Anjou et du Mayne.

At Mascon, Guillam Glasdall, Esquier, et Bailly de dit (lieu).

At Montigny-le-Roy, Sir Thomas Gargrave, and Sir Thomas Flemmyng, Capitaines de dit Lieu.

At Digon, Amorye, et Vertus (Vertrieux), en Champaigne, Capitane Edmond Heron, et Mathe Goghe, Esquier, Capitayne at Montaguillon en Brie, dont estoient capitayns Pregent de Coitiny, et Guillem Bourgois, Bretons, firent sarment au Conte de Sallisbury que jamés ils ne feront guerre contre le Roy deça la Revere de Loyre.

At the Citie of Mans (Mons), Sr. John Fastolfe.

At Saint Ralez (? Raillière), Richard Gethyn, Esquier, and also at the Castell of Lermitaige.

At La Faigene, Mathe Goge, Esquier.

At Gaerlande, John Banester, Esquier.

At Malicorne, William Glasdall, Esquier.

At Lisle-soubz-Brullon, Sr. Lancelot Lisle.

At Louppelland, Henry Braunche.

At Montsour, S^r. John Oldhall.
At La Suze (? La Saulce), John Suffolke, Esquier.
At Saint Suzanne, S^r. John Popeham.
At La Chatell de Mayenne-la-julie, Capitane S^r. John Montgomery.
At the Towne Casstell of Ferté-Bernard, the Counte of Sallisbury, by the geffte of the Kinge therof Lorde.

The names of Noblemen of England that was at the Siege of Meaulx en Brie in Henry the V. tyme.

Duke of Excester.
Countie de Lamarche.
Conte de Warwike.
Conte de Stafford.
Conte de Worcester (Lord Bergavenny).
Conte de Brayne (? Kyme).
Arther de Bretaigne, Conte Dyurey (d'Ivry).
Sir de Clyfforde.
Sir de Fournevall.
Sir de Lovell.
Sir de Audelley.
Sir de Seintmer, (St. Maur or Seymour) mort là.
Sir de Daucourt, (? Deyncourt) mort là.
Sir de Souche (Zouche of Haryngworth).
Sir de Morley.
Sir John Cornewall, Sir de Fennop (Fanhope), le filz duquelx morut durant le dit siege.
Sir de Fereres-Chartelley.
Sir de Bowtrux (Botreaux).
Sir de Clinton.
Sir de Haryngton.
Sir de Willoughby.
Sir de Fitz Hughe, Chamberlein de Roy.

Sir de Germyen, Marshall de Roy.
Sir John Fastolfe.
Sir Lewes Robesard.
Sir John Ratcliffe.
Sir Robert Harlinge.
Sir William Phillip.
Sir William Porter.
Sir Thomas Rameston.
Sir William Gaston, au dit sieg tué d'un trait.

APPENDIX III.

Extract from MS. Regius, 13, *c.* 1, *fo.* 1296, *and MS. Sloane,* 1776.

Henry IV. assists the Duke of Burgundy.

Anno tertio decimo (Henrici Quarti) fuerat magna perturbatio inter ducem Burgundiæ et ducem Aureliensem. Unde dux Burgundiæ destinavit domino Henrico principi Angliæ, pro auxilio resistendi duci Aureliensi; qui sibi in ejus succursum destinavit comitem Arundelle, domm. Johannem Oldcastelle domm. de Cobham, domm. Gilbertum Umfreville domm. de Kyme, et cum eis magnum exercitum; cujus fortitudine, apud Senlow (San. Clo.) juxta Parisiam, fuerat dux Aureliensis convictus, et a campo inhumaniter fugatus, et sui satellites attriti, capti, et occisi. Sed idem dux Aureliensis cogitans qualiter se contra ducem Burgundiæ vindicaret, et statim rege Henrico Angliæ magnam summam auri una cum Willelmo comite de Anglam (Angoulême) fratre suo, in hostagium sive vadium, pro majori summa, pro auxilio ab ipso rege Angliæ habendo. Sed rex non desistit sibi auxilium destinare, sed dominum Thomam secundo genitum suum constituit ducem Clarenciæ, et ei contulit ducatum, sive

Victory of St. Cloud.

the Duke of Clarence is sent to aid the Duke of Orleans.

ab antiquo comitatum Albemerliæ, quod Edmundus qui fuerat prius dux Albemerliæ, tunc post mortem patris erigitur in ducem Eboraci, et istos duces, viz^{t}. Thomam ducem Clarenciæ et Edmundum ducem Eboraci, et dom^{m}. Johannem Cornwelle, qui sororem ejus ducissam Excetriæ duxit in uxorem, et quem constituit rex capitaneum Calisiæ, misit versus partes Gallicanas cum magna fortitudine hominum. Et cum in Normannia juxta Hogges[1] applicuerunt, statim dominus de Hambe (? Rambures) cum septem millibus armatorum contra Anglicos in obviam ascendit, et sic illo die magna hominum fuerat interfectio, quorum ex parte ducis Burgundiæ octingenti erant capti, et interfecti quadringenti. Et sic tandem victoria cedit Angligenis.

Postquam domini cum suo exercitu divertebant se versus Burdingaliam, patriam interim aut destruentes, aut per suas patenas de patriotis plures pecunias congregantes; tandem ad Burdingaliam revenerunt, et deinde in Angliam cum vintagio sunt reversi.

Marriage of the Duke of Clarence.

Hoc anno Thomas dux Clarenciæ duxit in uxorem Margaretam, relictam Johannis comitis Somersetiæ, avunculi sui, sed cum dispensatione papæ: attamen inter eos nunquam habuerunt proles. Et posterius præfatus dux Clarenciæ postulavit magnam summam pecuniæ ab avunculo suo, episcopo Wintoniensi, ratione uxoris suæ, eo quod præfatus episcopus fuerat executor Johannis Bewford prioris mariti, et igitur voluit habere dimidium summæ triginta millium marcarum, quam summam habuit præfatus episcopus. Sed Henricus, tunc princeps Angliæ, sustinuit præfatum episcopum, sic quod præfatus dux non poterat eum nocere ultra debi-

His quarrel with the Bishop of Winchester.

The prince sides with the bishop.

[1] Cape La Hougue.

tum rationis. Et tandem concordati erant mediatione quorundam dominorum.

Opening of Parliament. The King is unable to attend.

Eodem anno, in crastino Animarum, incepit parliamentum apud Westmonasterium. Et quia rex ratione suæ infirmitatis non poterat in persona propria interesse, assignavit et ordinavit in nomine suo fratrem suum Thomam Bewford, cancellarium tunc Angliæ, ad inchoandum, continuandum, et prorogandum.

Prince Henry requests his father to resign the crown.

In quo parliamento Henricus princeps desideravit a patre suo regni et coronæ resignationem, eo quod pater ratione ægritudinis, non poterat circa honorem et utilitatem regni ulterius laborare. Sed sibi in hoc noluit penitus assentire, immo regnum una cum corona et pertinentiis dummodo haberet spiritus vitales, voluit gubernare. Unde princeps quodammodo cum suis consiliariis aggravatus, recessit, et posterius quasi pro majori parte Angliæ, omnes proceres suo dominio in homagio et stipendio copulavit. In eodem parliamento moneta tam in auro quam in argento fuerat aliqualiter in pondere minorata, ex causa permutationis extraneorum, qui in suis partibus ratione cambii magnum sibi cumulabant emolumentum, et regi et suis mercatoribus Angligenis, in magnum dispendium et detrimentum, &c.

INDEX.

C.

N.

O.

P.

T.

FINIS.

LONDON:
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Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 4, line 28, *for* cornus *read* corvus.
" 6, " 16, *for* dominum *read* dominium.
" 17, note 2. Sir Walter Scott quotes (Minstrelsy, i. 335, 8vo. edit.) Barbour for the use of "cracks" in Northumberland in 1327. They have been proved to be guns, or small cannon, by a receipt of the fourteenth century for making "poudre pour le krakke." (Nicolas' Royal Navy.)
" 33, note 2, *for* Journal des Ursins *read* Juvénal des Ursins.
" 45, note 2, *id.*
" 35, note 2, *for* deniz *read* deinz.
" 48, correct note 2 by note 2, p. 232.
" 144, line 8, *dele* the comma after Ferowes.
" 232, note 2, *for* a daughter of Jean sans Peur *read* and of Jean sans Peur.
" 237, note 1, *for* Longny *read* Langny.
" 266, pro Paunssot *read probably* Paunsfoot.
" 275, *for* Sir de Nevill Ranold *read* Sir de Nevill, Rauold (Ralph).
" 280, line 9, Sir William Gaston was of the Gascoyne family, but they spelt their name sixteen different ways.—(Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chief Justices.)

The late Sir N. H. Nicolas brought a charge of incorrectness against the Chaplain's Chronicle, inasmuch as he represents Henry to set sail on a Sunday, the following day after a Wednesday (Battle of Agincourt, p. 183, second edition); but the incorrectness was with Sir Harris, who mistranslated "et cùm sequenti die dominico," severing the adjective from the noun. (See p. 13.)